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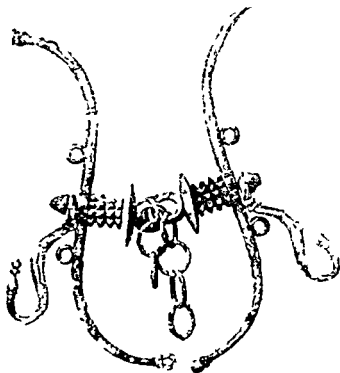
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XENOPHON SCRIPTA MINORA



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XENOPHON

SCRIPTA MINORA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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INTRODUCTION

“WELL, Xenophon, I had been told that you are an Athenian, and that was all I knew about you but now I praise you for your words and deeds, and I should wish as many as possible to be like you That would be good for everybody —Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian, in *Anabasis*, III 1 45

Various modern writers have challenged the ascription to Xenophon of every one of the works included in this volume The *Agesilaus* and the *Ways and Means* have suffered much from the onslaughts of the critics, the *Agesilaus* on account of its style, the *Ways and Means* for its subject matter It must suffice here to say that no case has been made out against any one of them, with the exception of the *Hunting*, and, even in that case, it is impossible to state with confidence that the main portion of the treatise was not written by Xenophon¹ The rest may be accepted with confidence as the work of the man whose name they bear

Undoubtedly there is something unusual about the miscellany, when regarded as the product of one author Most authors write only in one manner, and when we have read some of their works we easily recognise their hand in the rest With Xenophon it is not so, for there is an obvious difference of manner in different parts of the

¹ See below, VII (p. xxxvii).

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Hellenica Xenophon tried his hand at several kinds of prose literature—history, dialogue, the encomium, the technical treatise, the essay—and he had his ideas, gleaned from his reading, of the style appropriate to each kind. In the early part of the *Hellenica* we find him trying to write in the manner of Thucydides, in the rhetorical parts of the *Agésilas* he clearly has the model of Gorgias before him. But of course for us it is not always possible to understand just *why* he regarded this or that manner as appropriate. Thus in the historical portion of the *Agésilas*, he repeats passages of the *Hellenica* almost but not quite exactly, here he changes, there adds a word or two, but no modern reader can appreciate his reason for these minute alterations. But even in a translation, however inadequate, a reader must detect a difference in style between his rhetoric and his history.

More interesting for us is the variety of subjects that Xenophon knows and can expound. Of course he is better at some things than at others, but even about matters of which he is not a master he can tell us a good deal that is worth knowing. He flounders in the high finance, but even at that he is far from being such a duffer as some moderns have declared him to be. His speculations on forms of government and the secrets of national greatness are not profound, but they come from a singularly lucid well ordered mind. Of the theory of war he is a master. About horses, riding, the organisation and command of cavalry he knew everything that could be known in his day. His treatise on *Horsemanship*, especially, is in its way a masterpiece.

Like Socrates himself, he is continually trying to

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make himself useful. Perhaps for us there is rather too much of the *don* about him. His books are too full of instruction, admonition and reproof, nor is it surprising that some think that he intended them to form a series of educational manuals for the use of his sons. What is abundantly clear to anyone who reads all his works is that his real purpose was to do good to everybody, and, generous man that he was, everybody meant to him the people of Athens—those by whom he had been driven into banishment. Exiles do not, as a rule, spend their time in heaping coals of fire on their fellow countrymen. Happily his fellow countrymen showed themselves not ungrateful, they annulled the decree of banishment, though too late to entice him back to Athens. He died at Corinth. In these lesser productions of a virtuous and versatile Athenian gentleman there is, even in our age, not a little that is worth reading, apart from the information about ancient Greek life and manners that we owe to them. Their brevity too is a merit, for owing to his pedantry, Xenophon in his longer works is apt to be tedious.

In style Xenophon is simple and natural, he avails himself, indeed, of the resources of rhetoric, but he uses them moderately, and, except occasionally in the *Agesilaus*, he uses them soberly and sensibly. By the Atticists and the later Sophists he was taken as a model of simplicity.

Few traces of these *opuscula*, with the exception of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, occur in literature anterior to the Christian era, but the Atticist Demetrius of Magnesia, friend of Cicero's friend Atticus, included all of them in his list of

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Xenophon's works ¹ They are not cited by name by any extant Greek or Latin author earlier than Cicero, who refers in laudatory terms to the *Agésilas*, and has made use of its design in his *Pro Lege Manilia*. But echoes may be heard here and there by an attentive listener. The *Constitution* quickly attained an importance disproportionate to its merit. Isocrates in his *Panathenæus* makes some combative remarks that certainly apply, though not perhaps exclusively, to Xenophon's *Constitution*. All those who wrote on the Spartan institutions, including Aristotle, and especially the early Stoics, Zeno and his followers, used it as an authority. Nor was its influence exerted solely on the compilers of such works. Thinkers who speculated on the balanced or mixed form of Constitution also found it serviceable. Plato, indeed, as we should expect, ignores it in his *Laws*, but Aristotle in his *Politics* does not, and Polybius, in his sixth book, is clearly indebted to it. From the *Hiero* Isocrates has borrowed the matter and even some of the language in his address *On the Peace* (§ III f), and this the same year ret: from this address

We may safely hazard a guess that the *Hiero* was a favourite work with the Cynics, amongst whom the unhappiness of the despot was a common theme ² In the age of Polybius, the traveller Polemon of Ilium wrote a book with the curious title, *About the*

¹ It is inconceivable that Demetrius, as the text of Diogenes Laertius says, challenged the *Constitution of the Lacedæmonians*. Most of what follows, and much more may be
griechisch romi chen

h is an onslaught on

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Car in Xenophon (Agesilaus, c. viii 7), in which he gave an account of Spartan customs that is not to be found in Xenophon's *Constitution*¹. Nepos used the *Agesilaus* in his life of the king². The *Ways and Means* does not turn up once, but this is not surprising, since the brochure was written for a special occasion, and contains very little of general application. We may anticipate here by mentioning the adaptation of the passage (c. 1 2-8) on the nature of Attica by Aristides, the Sophist of the second century A.D., in his *Panathenaicus*³. About the earlier history of the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Horsemanship* there is a strange circumstance worthy of mention. Cato the Censor, as we know from Cicero, read, and highly esteemed Xenophon. The method of the opening of Cato's *de Re Rustica* has given rise to a suspicion that he had included these two treatises in his studies⁴. Considering the age at which Cato began Greek, he must have found the *Horsemanship* "a tough proposition," if he really tackled it. The *Horsemanship* did not oust Simon's work on the same subject from its position as an authority, but it is often impossible to be sure on which of the two treatises later writers draw⁵. Pollux came across a commentary on the *Horsemanship*, we cannot tell whether it was written before the Christian era. Probably Theophrastus already culled something from the

¹ Athenaeus iv. p. 175 r.

² It is now said that he did not use it directly, but I cannot believe this.

³ A. Frankmann *Journ. des Études Classiques* lxxvii. 1912, p. 133. At only the Xenophonine works cited by Aristides are the *Agrius* and the *Hierurgia* (Herschel p. 74).

⁴ Leo started this.

⁵ Oler in his *Index* C. 114. As it comes as to be in all the repetitions of matter that is common to both Xenophon.

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Hunting ¹ It is not clear that Grattius, who wrote his poem between 30 B.C. and 8 A.D., owes anything to the *Hunting*; nor is it likely, since he did not go to Simon or to Xenophon for his treatment of the horse.

Into the complicated history of Xenophon's shorter works in the Christian era we cannot enter.

To speak generally, the *Hiero* and *Agesilaus* seem to have been most read by the Atticists and Sophists; while the Romans, for the most part, neglected all of them ² But mention of one Greek author cannot be omitted, owing to the unique position that he occupies in the history of Xenophontine literature. Dio of Prusa (fl. 90 A.D.) not only, like Arrian, took Xenophon as his model of style, but his mind is saturated with Xenophon's thoughts and words. There is much of the *Hiero* and *Agesilaus* in Dio's discourses on kingship and despotism (I, II, III, VI, LXII). There is also, I think, a clear echo of the *Hunting* in Dio III 135-6. The *Agesilaus* is cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the type of the encomium. To Roman encomiasts it furnished a model. Its influence is felt in the design of Nepos' *Atticus*, in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, in the *Panegyric* of the younger Pliny, and, according to Leo, in the balanced estimate of the Emperor Valentinian in Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. 370 A.D.), book xxx³

¹ περί φυτῶν αἰτιῶν vi 19-20 compared with *Hunting* v and viii

² Only the *Cyropaedia* and *Memorabilia* of Xenophon's works gained a strong footing among the Romans.

³ I am not myself conscious of this. Resemblances are rather readily detected by keen investigators. Thus Rademacher says that Oppian used the *Hunting* in his *Cynegetica*, but I have waded through Oppian without detecting any reminiscence of it.

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Finally, we may refer to an amusing passage in the *Apollonius* of the Athenian Philostratus (age of Caracalla), which appears to be a "dig" at the *Hunting*, as the scholiast says it is. "They (Apollonius and his companion in India) came in," writes Philostratus, "for a dragon hunt which I must tell about, for it is highly absurd that the devotees of hunting should have found so much to say about the hare, and how she is, or shall be, caught, and we should pass over the record of this noble and marvellous sport."¹

I. *Hiero*

"Government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, is despotism"—*Memorabilia*, iv vi 12

"Despotic rule over unwilling subjects the gods give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death"—*Oeconomicus*, the end

The *Hiero* is an imaginary conversation between King Hiero, who ruled Syracuse from 478 to 467 B C, and the poet Simonides of Ceos, one of the many famous strangers whom the hospitable despot entertained at his court. Its purpose is twofold—first to show that a despot, ruling without regard to the interests of his subjects, is less happy than the private citizen; and secondly, to show by what means a despot may succeed in winning the affection of his subjects, and, by so doing, may gain happiness for himself. This subject was a common topic of

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speculation among the Socratics¹ it had been discussed by Socrates himself, and we are told that Plato during his first visit to the court of Syracuse had spoken his mind upon it to Dionysius the Elder. Had it been possible for Xenophon to bring Socrates and a great despot together, we might have found just such a conversation in the *Memorabilia*². Isocrates, in his oration addressed to Nicocles (374 B.C.), says that many doubt whether the life of men who live virtuously or the life of a despot is preferable, and in the letter which he wrote to the children of Jason, the "tagus" of Thessaly (359 or 358 B.C.), he declares that the private citizen is the happier³.

Modern writers, anxious to discover the date at which the *Hiero* was written, have ransacked the records of the despots contemporary with Xenophon to find some special event or events that may have prompted him to compose it. Grote, for example, refers to an incident that occurred at the Olympic Festival of 388 or 384 B.C. In one of those years the orator Lysias delivered his *Olympic* oration, in which he stirred up hatred of despots,⁴ and incited the Greeks to unite in ridding Syracuse of Dionysius. The despot on that occasion was represented at the festival by a magnificent mission. The date of composition has therefore been placed at about 383 B.C. Another view is that Xenophon wrote his

¹ Dio of Prusa in his third discourse puts into the mouth of Socrates a discussion on the question of the happiness of the despot.

² Just as Dio (VI) brings Diogenes and the Persian king together.

³ Cf. Aristotle *Politics* p. 1325 A, and Stobaeus XLIX.

⁴ The tone of Antisthenes' *Archelaus* was similar (Dümmler, *Akademika* p. 13).

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dialogue as a warning to Dionysius the Younger soon after his accession to the throne of Syracuse in 367 B.C. A third opinion is that the career of Jason of Pherae, who was assassinated in 370 B.C., was specially in Xenophon's mind, and a modification of this view is that our author had lately read the letter of Isocrates already referred to, and that his dialogue, like Isocrates' epistle, is a warning to Jason's children who now shared the power in Thessaly. This last opinion is supported by reference to the passage in which Hiero remarks that many despots have been destroyed by their own wives (iii. 8), for Jason's nephew, Alexander, joint "tagus" of Thessaly, was murdered by his brothers-in-law at the instigation of his wife Ithébé in 359 B.C.

But it is surely unnecessary to suppose that Xenophon had any special purpose or event in mind when he wrote the *Hiero*. The thing is merely a "Socratic" dialogue on a theme that interested him. He thought of despots in general, as the Socratics supposed them to be, and of course, like Plato in the ninth book of his *Republic*, when he writes of despotism he has an eye on the career of Dionysius I.¹ All that can be said about the date of composition is that, to judge from the language and the rhetoric of the *Hiero*, it appears to have been written in the author's later years.

There is no attempt at characterisation in the

¹ There is a close resemblance between *Lysias* ix. 10, 579 B and *Hiero*, c. 11. Were the *Lysias* the later work it would be impossible to read the epistle in the *Neaia* as Xenophon had lately read the *Republ.* There must be some time between the *Republ.* and the *Hiero*.

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persons of the dialogue. Hiero is not in the least the historical Hiero whom we know from the Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. He is not the great warrior nor the enlightened ruler; and of course there is no indication of the true basis of his power and of his constitutional position. He is just a despot of the better type. As for Simonides, Xenophon, in drawing his favourite analogy from the Choruses, once faintly alludes to his craft (c. ix. 4), but he makes no attempt anywhere to represent the courtier poet, had he done so he must have made Simonides bring in the subject of verse panegyrics on princes at c. i. 14. The remark of the poet at c. i. 22 is singularly inappropriate to a man who had a liking for good living. At c. viii Xenophon discards the thin disguise, and Simonides stands clearly revealed as Xenophon himself. To some of the recommendations offered to rulers that he makes in these concluding chapters we have parallels in the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Ways and Means*.

The *Hiero* is a naïve little work, not unattractive in this case, as in that of the *Banquet*, it is unfortunate for our amiable author that Plato has written on the same subject with incomparably greater brilliancy.

The gist of Xenophon's counsel to despots is that a despot should endeavour to rule like a good king. The same counsel is given by Isocrates in his *Helen*, which was written about 370 B.C.¹ No man, in Xenophon's opinion, is fit to rule who is not better than his subjects.²

¹ Aristotle in the *Politics* (p. 1313 A) agrees.

² *Cyropaedia*, viii. 1. 37.

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II. *Agesilaus*

"What is government, and what is a governor?"—
Memorabilia, i. i. 16

"Government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the State is kingship"—
Memorabilia, iv vi 12

Agesilaus became one of the two joint kings of Sparta in 398 B.C. Though over forty at the time of his accession,¹ he reigned for nearly forty years, and died on active service, probably in the winter of 361–60 B.C. His long career as a commander in the field began with his expedition to Asia Minor in 396 B.C. We do not know for certain when Xenophon joined Agesilaus in Asia, and it is impossible to say with confidence whether or not he was an eye witness of the campaign of Agesilaus against Tissaphernes, the satrap of Lydia, in 395 B.C.² But he was certainly with Agesilaus in the following year, and returned with him from Asia to Greece. He fought under the king at the battle of Coroneia in the summer of 394 B.C. against his fellow citizens, and was banished in consequence. He spent some

¹ Xenophon calls him "still young" at the time of his accession, no doubt having in mind the great age to which he lived in full activity, and using the pardonable exaggeration of an "encomiast." Similarly Isocrates implies that Euragoras (who was really assassinated) died a happy death.

² Xenophon's account of the campaign is utterly different from that which may now be read in a fragment of another history. But even if Xenophon was in Greece in 395 B.C., he of course heard the facts from Agesilaus himself. Isolt has successfully defended the accuracy of his account. In one instance (c. i. 33) he tacitly corrects the account he had given in the *Hellenica* (iii. iv. 24). At c. ii. 7 he defends what he had said in *Hell.* iv. iii. 15.

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time at Sparta, and thence removed to Scillus, near Olympia, to an estate that had been presented to him by the Lacedæmonians, doubtless at the suggestion of Agesilaus.

Xenophon always a hero worshipper, and an admirer of the ideal Spartan character and the institutions of Lycurgus, saw in Agesilaus the embodiment of his conception of a good king. Doubtless he, like Isocrates,¹ regarded the Spartan kingship as the best form of monarchy. Shortly after the death of his hero he produced this tribute to his memory. In spite of its rhetorical embellishments, there are signs of hasty composition in the *Agesilaus*. Haste probably accounts for the extensive borrowing from the *Hellenica*. Now why should Xenophon be in a hurry? From some pretty strong hints that all did not consider the king to be above adverse criticism, we may conclude that there was adverse criticism², quite possibly something had been written about Agesilaus that was not entirely complimentary. The *Agesilaus*, in the main an encomium is incidentally a defence.

A few years before, Isocrates had produced his encomium on Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, who was assassinated in 374 B.C. Isocrates says that he is the first to "praise a man's virtues in prose. If he means to say that nobody had written a prose encomium of an historical personage before him it is very doubtful whether his claim can be sustained.³ But perhaps he means only that he was the first to combine an account of a man's actions with praise of his character, pointing out the significance of

¹ Isocrates *de Pace* §§ 142-143

² c. ii 21 iv 3 v 6 viii 7

³ Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, xxxv p. 633.

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the actions as indicating the virtues of his hero.¹ That is just what he does in the *Lisagoras*. Now in the first portion of the *Agésilas* (c. 1-11), Xenophon has clearly taken the *Lisagoras* for his model. The king's exploits, judiciously selected, are narrated in chronological order, passages from certain portions of the *Hellenica* being repeated with trifling alterations of the language, and into the narrative are woven comments on the king's character, as it is illustrated by his deeds.

Having finished with the king's actions, Xenophon gives an account of his virtues (c. 11-19). This portion of his work has no counterpart in the *Lisagoras*. But even here Xenophon's idea is not original. The great virtues—piety, justice, self control, courage, wisdom—are treated elsewhere in the same order. In Plato's *Banquet* the poet Agathon praises the justice, self control, courage and wisdom of Love, and Socrates remarks that the encomium reminds him of Gorgias. Xenophon himself at the end of the *Memorabilia* writes of the piety, justice, self control and wisdom of Socrates.² The order of the categories no doubt goes back to Gorgias. To these great virtues Xenophon adds patriotism, and several minor excellences. He rounds off his encomium with a formal epilogue (c. 20).

To the epilogue is appended a summary (c. 21) of the king's virtues, and here again the categories are arranged in the same order.³ The summary

¹ So Usener.

² In *Cyropaedia*, viii. 1. 23-33. Xenophon enumerates the piety, justice and self control of Cyrus.

³ The indications of the order are fainter, but they can be discerned. But the disposition does not agree closely with that of the second part of the work.

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was a device introduced by the sophist Corax, and the use of it is alluded to as an established practice at the end of the *Palamedes*, an oration ascribed to Gorgias. The extant fragment of Gorgias' *Funeral Oration* appears to belong to a summary. There are examples of the summary also in Isocrates.¹ To the material of the eleventh chapter a passage of the *Diagoras* has contributed something.²

What is peculiar in the structure of the *Agésilas* is the separate treatment of the actions and the virtues of the hero. Xenophon has followed Isocrates in one section of his encomium and Gorgias in the other.³ The result is, of course, a want of unity in the design. The work, however, was much admired by Cicero and by Nepos;⁴ and the latter's sketch of Cicero's friend Atticus is evidently modelled on it.

III. Constitution of the Lacedaemonians

"Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian now—have you realised that he would not have made Sparta to differ from other cities in any respect, had he not established obedience to the laws most securely in her?"—*Memorabilia*, iv. iv. 15.

"When will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age . . . when will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training . . . when will they reach that standard of obedience to their rulers

¹ e.g. *Antidosis*, §§ 127, 128, the character of Timotheus.

² *Diagoras* §§ 43–46. The notion that the eleventh chapter of the *Agésilas* is spurious is wrong. Compare the character sketches of Proxenus and Menon in *Anabasis* II.

³ All the little tricks of rhetoric that have been adversely criticised by modern writers come in this second part.

⁴ Nepos, *Agésilas*, c. 1.

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... or when will they attain that harmony?"—*Memorabilia*, iii. v. 16.

Xenophon's purpose in this work was to show that the greatness and fame of the Lacedaemonians were due to "the laws of Lycurgus." He had no intention of writing a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution; and though here and there he refers to details of that constitution as things familiar to his readers, it is only in the last chapter, about the position and privileges of the kings, that he even mentions the word "constitution." Even the remarks on the constitutional powers of the Ephors in c. viii are merely illustrative. After the tenth chapter he gradually loses sight of his subject. For if the eleventh and the twelfth, on the excellence of the Spartan army, have a loose connexion with it, the thirteenth, on the powers of the kings, has none. The fourteenth is clearly an afterthought, an appendix; and the same is true of the fifteenth.

The title, then, is inaccurate; nevertheless there can be no doubt that it was chosen by the author himself. The first ten chapters are homogeneous, and they have the appearance of a complete essay. For evidently when he started Xenophon did not intend to trace the "power" of Sparta to the organisation of its army: he says clearly at the beginning that he attributes her power to her institutions or "principles"; and one of these principles turns out to be (c. ix.) that a glorious death is preferable to a base life—which is a good enough reason, in an essay, to account for the power of the state on the military side. Possibly, after writing the first ten chapters, Xenophon kept them by him, and added later on the appendices on the army and the functions

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lived at Corinth. Some years later his banishment from Athens was annulled on the proposal of Eubulus. He did not, however, return to his native city; but he sent his two sons home to serve in the Athenian cavalry.

In 355 B.C. Athens emerged in a state of serious financial exhaustion from a disastrous war with her most powerful allies. It was through Eubulus that the peace was concluded. In the following year Eubulus practically assumed control of the state finances,¹ and he at once set to work to increase the revenue and to relieve the poverty of the citizens. The citizen body at this time, as we can see from the *Ways and Means*, was in a deplorable condition. Lazy and poverty stricken, the people looked to the state for maintenance. Trade was in the hands of the resident aliens, among whom were many Asiatics (c. ii 3). How precisely Eubulus dealt with the problems that faced him we do not know. But as Controller of the "theoric" fund he raised enough money from this tax upon the well-to-do to enable him to make distributions to the people on an unprecedented scale. From a passage in the orator Demarchus we infer that Eubulus also introduced measures for the improvement of the cavalry. And when his administration came to an end, probably in 339 B.C., the mines at Laurium, which had been neglected, were once again being vigorously worked by men in partnership and by private companies.

The resemblance between these operations of Eubulus and some of the proposals contained in

¹ See especially Le'och, *Attische Politik seit Perikles*, p. 177 f.

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Xenophon's brochure is obvious. The brochure is addressed, apparently, to the Council of Five Hundred. The author confines himself rigidly to proposals of a practical nature. It is not his business here to probe the causes of the prevalent distress. The author of the *Memorabilia* knew well enough what was wrong with the Athenians, but when the problem of the moment is how to raise cash, it is useless to demand a change of national habits: you must take the conditions as they are, and make the best of them. The recognition of the demoralising dole system was, of course, unavoidable. Then, according to Xenophon's plan, capital is to be raised by the imposition of an income tax—whether for one year or more is not stated—and expended on the erection of hotels, the provision of accommodation for merchants and visitors both in the Peiræus and in the city, and on a fleet of state-owned merchant vessels. Much space is given to measures to be adopted for the improved working of the mines: amongst them are a measure of state socialism (c. iv. 30) and a proposal for the formation of a great Joint-Stock Company (c. iv. 32). To encourage internal trade, it is essential to encourage the resident aliens, their status must be improved. It is a shock to find Xenophon proposing to make these aliens—including Lydians, Phrygians and Syrians—eligible for the aristocratic cavalry.

The insistence on the necessity of maintaining peace as an essential condition of financial recovery is in accordance with the policy of Eubulus.

Earlier in this same year, 355 B.C., Isocrates, now an octogenarian, issued his pamphlet *On the Peace*,

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in which he exhorted the Athenians to endeavour to conciliate the Greek world. His pamphlet is ostensibly a harangue addressed to the Assembly, and its subject is political morality. There are clear indications that Xenophon had read it before writing the *Ways and Means*.¹

V. *The Cavalry Commander*²

"Perhaps you think you can do something for the good of the State as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm."—*Memorabilia*, iii iii 2

The discourse on the duties of the cavalry commander was written at a time when there was some reason to anticipate the outbreak of war between Athens and Thebes (c. vii 3), probably in 365 B.C. It is ostensibly addressed to an individual about to enter on that exalted office; but the convention is not consistently maintained, especially towards the end of the treatise. It is almost certain that Xenophon in his younger days had himself been a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, in 409 B.C. and the years following, and he had lately sent his two sons home to Athens to serve in the force. His profound interest in cavalry and his knowledge of its use are, of course, apparent in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Anabasis* and the *Memorabilia*. Our treatise may, indeed, be viewed as a commentary on the statement of a cavalry commander's duties that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the last mentioned work (iii iii 1).

¹ He has levied toll on §§ 21, 30, 42, 53 and 138.

² Literally the Greek title means "A discourse on the command of cavalry."

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When Xenophon wrote the discourse Athens was at peace. But even in peace time the duties of the cavalry, though ornamental, were important, since the cavalry procession was a prominent feature of all the great state festivals. And of course training for war was always being carried on with more or less vigour. Things were at the moment in a pretty bad way with the corps. Owing to the prevailing poverty, and the slickness of the Council and their immediate agents, the two annually elected commanders of cavalry ("hipparchs"), the number of troopers had apparently fallen from the thousand required by law to about six hundred and fifty, and the quality of the horses and the efficiency of the riders left much to be desired. It is probable that in this case, as in others, Xenophon's exhortations were not without practical result, for at the time of the battle of Mantinea (361 B.C.) the Athenian cavalry was able to play a creditable part in the field.

Xenophon recommends the use of infantry among the cavalry (c. v. 13), and his words imply that at the time infantry were not regularly provided for this service. In the *Constitution of Athens*, written some forty years later, Aristotle mentions such a body of infantry as a normal appendage to the cavalry. In the *Memorabilia*, as in our treatise, the cavalry commander is urged to require that the horses incapable of going the pace should be rejected. Aristotle, repeating the very expression used by Xenophon, says that the Council marked and rejected such horses. Both reforms may be due to Xenophon, at least in part. For it is hardly likely that the advice of such an authority can have gone entirely unheeded.

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in which he exhorted the Athenians to endeavour to conciliate the Greek world. His pamphlet is ostensibly a harangue addressed to the Assembly, and its subject is political morality. There are clear indications that Xenophon had read it before writing the *Ways and Means*¹

V. *The Cavalry Commander*²

"Perhaps you think you can do something for the good of the State as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm"—*Memorabilia*, iii iii 2

The discourse on the duties of the cavalry commander was written at a time when there was some reason to anticipate the outbreak of war between Athens and Thebes (c vii 3), probably in 365 B.C. It is ostensibly addressed to an individual about to enter on that exalted office, but the convention is not constantly maintained, especially towards the end of the treatise. It is almost certain that Xenophon in his younger days had himself been a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, in 409 B.C. and the years following, and he had lately sent his two sons home to Athens to serve in the force. His profound interest in cavalry and his knowledge of its use are, of course, apparent in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Anabasis* and the *Memorabilia*. Our treatise may, indeed, be viewed as a commentary on the statement of a cavalry commander's duties that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the last mentioned work (iii iii 1).

¹ He has levied toll on §§ 21, 30, 42, 53 and 138

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VI. *On the Art of Horsemanship*

"Seeing you are forced to meddle with horses, don't you think that common sense requires you to see that you are not ignorant of the business? — *Oeconomus*, iii 9

The treatise on *Horsemanship*, the oldest complete treatise on the subject in existence, was written soon after the *Cavalry Commander* (c. xii 14). It is a masterly production. The text has suffered considerably from corruption, and even with the aid of restoration it is not easy reading, nevertheless, it presents no serious problems that still await solution. Bearing in mind the cardinal differences between the Greek cavalry horse of which Xenophon writes, and the modern riding horse, we shall have no serious difficulty in following the author. The Greek cavalry horse, familiar to everybody from the Parthenon sculptures, was small and cob-like. He was a troublesome creature to ride, and given the conditions, although the cavalry was not always an efficient arm in the field, it is a mistake to suppose that the individual Greek rider was a poor horseman, nor is the supposition borne out by the Parthenon figures. The horses were ungelded and unshod, they were given to biting, and the rider had neither stirrups, nor saddle, nor curb to assist him. The well-to-do young Athenian rode, but did not often ride merely for pleasure. He rode commonly as a member or a prospective member of the cavalry—it is significant that the same word is used for a "horseman" and a "cavalryman", occasionally he rode in order to compete in the horse races at the Games, or if he were rich he hunted on horse

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back¹ Naturally, therefore, the only gaits in use were the walk, the trot and the gallop

The practical horseman will no doubt notice certain details in which modern practice differs from the Greek usage But he will assuredly be surprised to find that so much of Xenophon's doctrine survives unchanged in the modern lore of the horse and his rider, and he will acknowledge that Xenophon was both an excellent judge of a horse and a highly accomplished horseman

Xenophon recommends a "flexible" in preference to a "stiff" bit (c x) Two "flexible" bits now in the Berlin Museum are figured and described by E Pernice in his monograph entitled *Griechisches Pferdegeschirr* (Berlin, 1896) The bits, which are of bronze, and belong to the fourth century, B.C., were found along with a beautiful bronze muzzle and bronze ornaments of the headstall in a grave in Boeotia They are complete in every detail, including the curved branches at the ends to which the straps of the headstall were fastened and the branches to which the reins were attached Xenophon is concerned only with the bit itself This, in the two examples referred to, consists of two axles joined in the middle by two links, one link within the other Next to the links are discs, then on either side a cylinder covered with four rows of sharp teeth Next to the cylinders come the branches to be attached to the headstall, and outside these the branches for the reins Discs,

¹ Thus Ischomachus (*Oeconomicus*, xi 17 f.), an excellent horseman (20), says that he has his horse led to and from his farm he mounts at the farm, and goes through military exercises Xenophon is, of course, describing his own practice

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cylinders and branches move on the axles. From each of the central links hangs a little chain, of three or four rings (see c x 9).

When the horse was led out to be groomed or to give him a roll, a muzzle was used. The muzzle is depicted on several vases. For example, a black-figured amphora in the Ashmolean Museum (No 212) shows a led horse wearing the muzzle, and, in this case, bridled as well. The muzzles for ordinary use were made either of straps or of wicker. The Ashmolean horse's muzzle is attached by a strap passing under the ears. In another example figured in E. Walpole's *Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey*, we have two horses muzzled and tied together by the leading reins that hang from the muzzle. A groom is cleaning the back of the horse on the right with a strigil (cf c v 5). Another groom is examining the uplifted forefoot of the horse on the left, crouching beneath the horse in a manner not approved by Xenophon. A halter was also attached to the bridle and used in mounting or in leading the horse when not muzzled (c vii 1). The halter is clearly seen on one of the horses depicted on an Attic *cylix* in the Berlin Museum, of which the subject is the examination of the cavalry recruits, and there are other extant examples.

In the twelfth chapter Xenophon recommends that the horse should be protected in war with a frontlet, breastplate and thigh pieces¹. It is not unlikely that these came into use in Greece as the result of his recommendation. Their origin is

¹ From this chapter it is clear that the rider's thighs were not protected by thigh pieces.

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Asiatic, and of course Xenophon had seen them used during the expedition of the Ten Thousand.

The methodical construction of this treatise contrasts strongly with the want of arrangement that we find in the *Discourse on Hunting*. The author starts with a modest reference to his skill in horsemanship, and here let the translator, whose own acquaintance with horses has been brief and disastrous, offer an apology to any practical horseman into whose hands this version, or perversion, may fall, for any absurdities that he may—it is but too likely—detect in the English equivalents used in the translation to represent the technical terms of the original. After this brief and characteristic exordium the author falls at once to business. Here is a list of the contents: (1) Buying a colt—points and size of the young horse (c. i.) (2) Breaking a young horse (c. ii.) (3) Buying a horse already ridden (c. iii.) (4) Stable and yard (c. iv.) (5) The groom's duties (c. v.-vi.) (6) Instructions to the rider—mounting, starting, exercises (c. vii.-viii.) (7) Management of a fiery horse (c. ix.) (8) How to make the best of a war horse (c. x. 1-5) (9) Bits, their form and use (c. x. 6) (10) The horse for ceremonial occasions (c. xi.) (11) Armour of rider and horse (c. xii. 1-10) (12) Offensive weapons and their use (c. xii. 11) (13) Brief reference to the *Cavalry Commander* for further information. The exposition is as clear as the arrangement.

In his opening words, and elsewhere, Xenophon refers to the treatise of Simon, of which an important fragment survives in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.¹ There is much matter common to both

¹ There are several modern editions.

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treatises, but it is unfair to represent Xenophon as merely repeating Simon¹. Both authors begin their description of the parts of the horse at the hoofs and work upwards to the head. All later writers on the horse, Greek and Roman, start at the head. Very likely Xenophon consciously followed Simon's method: it would be like him to do that.

VII *Hunting*

When an Englishman tells you that he is "going to hunt," you understand him to mean that he intends to hunt the fox on horseback. Had you heard a young Greek of the fourth century B.C. make the same remark, the odds would have been that he was going to hunt the hare on foot. Two other branches of the sport in which the average young Greek then indulged were the hunting of the red deer and the boar. But if either of these creatures was to be the object of his pursuit, he would have said so, and in either case he would have been intending to go unmounted,² unless he had said definitely that he was going on horseback. These simple facts explain the absence of a statement early in this treatise (c. ii), that its author intends to deal first with hare hunting, and also explain why there is nothing in the treatise about hunting on horseback, apart from an incidental reference in the appendix on hunting abroad (c. xi. 3). Sons of aristocratic houses often rode to hounds,

¹ Oler in his *Anecdota Cantabrigiensiæ* a mine of information on the ancient horse literature is hardly just to Xenophon.

² The term *κυνηγετεῖν* consistently used for hunting in the treatise is normally confined in classical authors to hunting on foot.

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and no doubt Xenophon's boys were mounted when they hunted boars, gazelles and red deer at Scillus¹ But this treatise is addressed to the average young hunter, and is confined to those forms of the sport that were open to him

The art of hunting, like other arts and crafts, was a gift of the gods to the centaur Chiron, who imparted it to many heroes, all of whom enjoyed the special favour of the gods To this topic is devoted a lengthy rhetorical exordium, which differs entirely by its elaborate style from the rest of the treatise, in which the rules of formal composition are almost entirely disregarded There is no parallel to this exordium in Greek literature anterior to the Christian era² To Xenophon, indeed, a long exordium of any kind is alien

The writer's object is instruction of the novice He undertakes to enumerate and to explain all the paraphernalia required in hunting (c. ii. 2) But his promise is but indifferently fulfilled in the sequel He is excellent in description, but, like so many modern teachers, he unconsciously reckons on too much knowledge in his pupils Especially confusing is his use of the same term for the track and the scent of the hare, and the directions for unravelling the tracks and for setting up the nets, the parts of which he does not explain, are anything but clear

¹ *Anabasis*, v. iii. 10 We see that this treatise was not written as is sometimes supposed, for the use of Xenophon's sons

² As for the date of the exordium see below J Mewaldt (*Hermes* xlv. p. 76) has pointed out a remarkable parallel in the exordium to the *Physician* falsely attributed to Galen, but contemporary with him

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Nor is his arrangement of his matter in the section on the hare wholly satisfactory. For most of the seventh chapter and the whole of the eighth consist of remarks, in the nature of an appendix, on the subject of the third chapter

It is surprising to find that nets were not used in Greece for hunting the red deer on foot, though the "net-keeper" accompanied the hunt (c. ix. 6). Their place was taken by the abominable traps or caltrops, which are carefully and clearly described. We wonder how an unmounted hunter was to get among the deer and to isolate a member of the herd (c. ix. 10).

To the survey of the three branches of hunting the author appends a few irrelevant remarks on the hunting of big game abroad, apparently just because the subject interested him and might be expected to interest his young readers. These remarks, it may be observed, do not include varieties of hunting that Xenophon had witnessed in Asia, and would be expected to describe if he had written the *Hunting at Scillus*.

Having finished with the technical side of the subject, our author launches out into an enumeration of the benefits to be derived from hunting on foot (c. xii. 1-9). It is good for the health, fits men for their military duties, and affords a fine moral training. Some, he says, meaning, probably, Aristippus and his followers, object to hunting on the ground that it leads men to waste the time that ought to be given to their business and to the service of the state. These objectors are utterly wrong, and many of them are even vicious. But hunters are a virtuous folk, because they love toil (c. xii. 10, end). The

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argument here, and in the last chapter, is sloppy, but the writer disarms criticism by his zeal

The task that the writer set himself at the beginning is now completed, and we should have expected him to end here. But he is in a fighting mood, and is determined to warn his young readers against all the enemies of his theories. Chief among these are the "sophists," that is, the professors of other systems of education than that in which he believes. They have never made a man virtuous, and their writings, for all the care lavished on their style, do nobody any good. Very likely one of them will attack this treatise for its slipshod style and want of "beauty." What does the author care? He seeks to do good, not to train the young in sophistry. Beware of the professors and cleave to the lovers of wisdom! Then there are the unscrupulous self-seekers and reckless politicians. Don't emulate them! The best of them incur envy,¹ and the bad ones are rogues. But hunters are genial and kindly, and they seek only to do good.

The technical portion of this treatise (c ii-xi) and the curious epilogue (c xii-xiii) are certainly contemporary with Xenophon, and—as all competent critics now agree—both were written by one man. The attack on the "sophists" in the last chapter must have been written in the fourth century B.C., when "philosophers" and "sophists" wrangled over the theory and practice of education, and flooded the world with books on the subject. The descriptive portions of the technical part are worthy of Xenophon, and the sentiments expressed in the

¹ This *phthos*, must have been the meaning of c xii. 10 before the text was corrupted.

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epilogue strongly remind us of his sentiments. The difficulty in accepting the treatise as his lies mainly in the jerkiness of the style and the looseness of the grammar. We miss the combination of short simple sentences with long periods that is characteristic of his manner, and the constant indulgence in "ellipse," "asyndeton," "chiasmus," "infinitive of command," and so on, is not at all like what we find in his acknowledged works. On the whole, when the pros and cons are weighed and reweighed, it does not appear utterly impossible that he wrote it as a first experiment in authorship before leaving Athens for Asia. The work is full of his zest for hunting, his pietism, his insistence that before you try to do a thing, you must understand how to do it, and, above all, his belief in the efficacy of diligence and toil. The author of the treatise is clearly an Athenian, and though his opinions bear a strong resemblance to those of the older Cynics, and especially of Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, I see no decisive reason for thinking it impossible—though it is certainly difficult to believe—that Xenophon wrote it in the last years of Socrates' life. He was then aged thirty,¹ and might employ a didactic tone towards the youth of eighteen. If he did, he must have adopted a manner of writing that he judged appropriate to a didactic treatise addressed to the young.² We must suppose that he deliberately

¹ Xenophon was born 430 B.C., Apollodorus (fl. 150 B.C.) in his *Chronica* wrongly suggested 440 B.C. From Apollo

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avoided formal rhetoric, of which there are only very few examples in the treatise. Xenophon in the *Hellenica* and the *Agésilas* does experiment in different styles of writing, though within limits that he passes far beyond in the *Hunting*, if this work be really his. But a great difficulty confronts us. In the thirteenth chapter (3-7) the writer, in his most rhetorical passage, says in effect that he despises rhetoric as practised in his day, and has no belief in its value. Now the rhetoric of the fourth century sophists is based on the teaching of Gorgias and Prodicus. Xenophon elsewhere always writes respectfully of these two great stylists, and he shows both by his statements and by his practice that he has a keen appreciation of rhetoric as an aid to persuasion.¹ Already at the beginning of the *Hellenica* (i. i. 30-31) he attributes the reputation of Hermocrates the Syracusan "as speaker and adviser" to the attention that he paid to oratory, and Sicilian oratory without rhetoric is unthinkable. Can it be that between say, 401 B.C. and 393 B.C. he so entirely changed his opinion? It is possible that he did so, in consequence of his experience in Asia where the influence of oratory on the soldiers was continually made manifest.²

In at least two parts of the epilogue it is highly probable that Aristippus is attacked, first as object

¹ The results of his study of Gorgias can be traced in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and the *Ways and Means* as well as in the *Agésilas*.

² Note especially what he says about Proxenus (*Anabasis*, ii. vi. 16) that in his youth he had an ambition to become a man of affairs and therefore put himself under Gorgias.

writings. A pretty specimen of it is to be found in Plato's description of the two horses (*Pædrus* p. 253 D).

ing to toil, and further on as a self seker (xii 10, viii 10), Aristippus was, in fact, the first of the Socratics to take fees from his pupils¹ Now we know that Xenophon had an aversion to Aristippus, whose opinions and conduct naturally jarred on him What is more likely than that Xenophon should warn his young readers against such an alluring but dangerous teacher?

Here we may leave the problem The style does not in the least suggest Xenophon much of the matter, both in the technical part and in the epilogue, does suggest him Absurdities have been pointed out² in the reasoning of the epilogue, but some of these absurdities are probably due to the corrupt state in which the text of it has come down to us For whereas in the technical part we have the powerful aid of Pollux in correcting the text, he cites nothing from the epilogue

The laborious exordium is not contemporary with the rest of the work Certain rhythms are persistently used in it that were not in vogue earlier than the first half of the third century B.C.³ But the "sophistic list of Chiron's pupils and, still more, the highly artificial order of the words show that the date is much later than the third century Norden, the highest authority in these matters, states confidently that the exordium belongs to the period of the "second sophistic"⁴ We may con-

¹ Diogenes Laertius ii 65

² Especially by Hartman in his *Analecta Xenophontea*

³ Especially the *dichoreus* (—) at the end of the sentence, which is characteristic of the *Asianic* style (Radermacher in *Rheinisches Museum* lvi)

⁴ In *De Antike Prosalunst* (p 433) he cites some striking parallels from the Lemnian Philostratus *Imagines* and from *Aelian*.

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clude without hesitation that it was composed in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), when also the reference to it in c. xiii. 18 was added.¹ Somewhere about A.D. 150 Arrian must have come across a copy of the *Hunting* in Athens, with the exordium already prefixed. He took the exordium at its face value, and assumed that it too was written by Xenophon.² In the *Heroicus* (p. 308), written between A.D. 213 and 219, the Lemnian Philostratus includes Telamon, Theseus and Palamedes among the disciples of Chiron. These heroes are mentioned nowhere else as pupils of the Centaur except in our epilogue.³

The earliest author who alludes to the *Hunting* as Xenophon's work is Plutarch; but Demetrius of Magnesia, a contemporary of Cicero, already recognised it as his.⁴

The principal manuscripts are the following:—

1. For the *Hiero*, *Agésilas*, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and *Ways and Means*:

- A. (*Vaticanus*, 1335), tenth or eleventh century. Of the *Ways and Means* only a part (c. i. 5 to c. iii. 5) has survived.

¹ This passage furnished, as it were, a text to the writer of the exordium.

² Arrian, *Cynegeticus* I. It is odd that Arrian, no mean judge of style, accepted the whole work, including the exordium, as certainly genuine.

³ The coincidence at least shows that these names were introduced into the list by the late sophists. K. Müncher (*Philologus, Supplementband*, x., p. 503) doubts whether Philostratus consciously repeats the author of the exordium; nor do I think it certain that he does so.

⁴ Diogenes Laertius, ii. 57.

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B (*Vaticanus*, 1950), fifteenth century. Probably copied from A.

C. (*Mulinensis*, 145), fifteenth century. This MS does not include the *Agcsilaus*. It contains many peculiar readings, of which many are conjectures.

M (*Marcianus*, 511), probably thirteenth century.

A papyrus fragment of the *Ways and Means*, c. 15-6, belonging to the second century A.D., is edited by Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vol. 1.

The copious extracts contained in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus are specially important for checking the text of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*.

2 For the *Cavalry Commander, Horsemanship and Hunting*.

A. (*Indobonensis*, IV. 37), sixteenth century. This MS does not include the *Cavalry Commander*. It is derived from an archetype of the twelfth century, and is the best MS of the *Horsemanship and Hunting*. Its version of c. 1 of *Hunting* is peculiar, evidently because the MS from which it was copied was blurred and partly illegible.

B. (*Vaticanus*, 989) thirteenth century. The best MS of the *Hipparchicus*, and the next best to A of the other two. The first chapter of *Hunting*, and the opening words of the second are missing.

M (*Marcianus*, 511)

The lexicon of Pollux is of the utmost value in checking and restoring the corrupted text of the

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treatise on *Horsemanship* and the technical parts of that on *Hunting*

An excellent critical edition of the text of the first four treatises by A Thulheim and of the last three by E Ruchl is included in the Teubner Series

There is also a recent text of the whole in Vol V of *Aenophonius Opera Omnia* (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis)

A translation of the *Horsemanship* with notes by R Berenger is included in his *History of the Art of Horsemanship* (1671) Paul Louis Courier's translation of the *Cavalry Commander and Horsemanship* (1st ed 1807) contains many valuable notes, and his contribution to the purification and elucidation of the text is of the first importance The MS that he followed was *Vaticanus 989*

The Art of Horsemanship translated, with chapters on the Greek Riding Horse, and with notes, by Morris H Morgan (1894) is excellent

The German translation of the last mentioned work by F Pollack (1912) includes a commentary and a full bibliography and is indispensable to students

O Munns, *Über die Jagd bei den Griechen* (1888-1890), has given a complete exposition of the technical portions of the treatise on *Hunting*

R M Radermacher's articles in the *Rheinisches Museum*, li, lii, mark an epoch in the criticism of the *Hunting*

All recent textual criticism of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and of the last three treatises included in this volume is based on the exhaustive work of three Italian scholars The results arrived

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at by them are contained in the following Berlin editions:—

| | | |
|---------------|-------------|---|
| G. Pierleoni: | Xenophontis | <i>Respublica Lacedæ- moneis</i> , 1903 |
| " | " | <i>Cyropæticus</i> , 1902 |
| P. Cerocchi: | " | <i>Hyparchicus</i> , 1901 |
| V. Tommasini: | " | <i>de Re Equestri</i> , 1902 |

The Greek text of this volume follows that of Stuppe (= S in the footnotes) except where stated

The earliest printed edition of the collected works is that of Filippo Giunta (Florence, 1516); but it does not include the *Agésilas* and *Ways and Means*. The *Agésilas* was first printed by J. Reuchlin in 1520 (with the *Apology* and *Hiero*), and the *Ways and Means* in the Aldine ed. (1525).

HIERO

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ

Ι. Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄρ' ἂν μοι ἐβελήσαις, ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγῆσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἐμοῦ;

Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὅποια δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός;

2 Οἰδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ, πῇ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ ἰδιωτικός βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.

3 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι ἰδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ; οὕτως γὰρ ἂν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ.

4 Οὕτω δὲ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὠτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ῥινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε καὶ ποτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια δι' ὧν δὴ πάντες
5 ἐπιστάμεθα· τὰ δὲ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κούφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σώματί μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἥδεσθαί τε

XENOPHON'S HIERO

I. SIMONIDES, the poet, once paid a visit to Hiero, the despot. When both found time to spare, Simonides said. "Hiero, will you please explain something to me that you probably know better than I?"

"And pray what is it," said Hiero, "that I can know better than one so wise as yourself?"

"I know you were born a private citizen," he answered, "and are now a despot. Therefore, as you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives of the despot and the citizen differ as regards the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot."

"Surely," said Hiero, "seeing that you are still a private citizen, it is for you to remind me of what happens in a citizen's life, and then, I think, I could best show you the differences between the two."

"Well," said Simonides, taking the suggestion, "I think I have observed that sights affect private citizens with pleasure and pain through the eyes, sounds through the ears, smells through the nostrils, meat and drink through the mouth, carnal appetites—of course we all know how. In the case of cold and heat, things hard and soft, light and heavy, our sensations of pleasure and pain depend on the

¹ δ A. Sauppe omits with the other MSS

- καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς
 ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν
 ἡδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ διὰ
 6 τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῷ δ'
 ὕπνῳ ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι,
 ὅπως δὲ καὶ ᾧτινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πως,
 ἔφη, δοκῶ μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας
 ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ.
- 7 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἰέρων ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐγὼ μὲν
 τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἰρηκας
 σύγε οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν αἰσθοιτό· τινος ἄλλου ὁ
 τύραννος ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου
 οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τινι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ
 ἰδιωτικοῦ βίου.
- 8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη,
 διαφέρει· πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων
 εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει.
- Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σι-
 μωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ', ὅτι μείω πολὺ
 εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων
 ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μέζω λυποῦνται.
- 9 Ἄπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ
 οὕτω ταῦτ' εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν
 τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανωτάτων
 ἀνδρῶν εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς
 τυράννους;
- 10 Ὅτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ἄπειροι ὄντες
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ.
 ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαί σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σέ
 δοκῶ μεμνήσθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν.

whole body, I think In good and evil we seem to feel pleasure or pain, as the case may be—sometimes through the instrumentality of the moral being only, at other times through that of the moral and the physical being together Sleep, it seems clear 6 to me, affects us with pleasure, but how and by what means and when are puzzles that I feel less able to solve And perhaps it is no matter for surprise if our sensations are clearer when we are awake than when we are asleep ”

“For my part, Simonides,” said Hiero in answer 7 to this, “I cannot say how a despot could have any sensations apart from those you have mentioned So far, therefore, I fail to see that the despot’s life differs in any respect from the citizen’s

“In this respect it does differ,” said Simonides 8 “the pleasures it experiences by means of these various organs are infinitely greater in number, and the pains it undergoes the far fewer ”

“It is not so, Simonides,” retorted Hiero, “I assure you far fewer pleasures fall to despots than to citizens of modest means, and many more and much greater pains ”

“Incredible!” exclaimed Simonides “Were it 9 so, how should a despot’s throne be an object of desire to many, even of those who are reputed to be men of ample means? And how should all the world envy despots?”

“For this reason of course,” said Hiero, “that 10 they speculate on the subject without experience of both estates But I will try to show you that I am speaking the truth, beginning with the sense of sight That was your first point, if I am not mistaken

- 11 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι
 λογιζόμενος εὐρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυ-
 ράννους. ἄλλα μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν
 ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται
 ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἃς ἂν βούλωνται καὶ εἰς
 τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα ἂ¹ ἀξιοθεατότατα
 12 δοκεῖ ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται.² οἱ δὲ τύραννοι
 οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ
 ἵεναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν
 παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι
 κεκτηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους
 ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν γάρ, μὴ ἅμα στερηθῶσι τῆς
 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται τιμωρῆσασθαι τοὺς
 13 ἀδικήσαντας. εἰποὶς οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, 'Ἄλλ' ἄρα
 ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι.
 14 καὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὀλίγα γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν
 καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται
 τοῖς τυράννοις, ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὀτιοῦν
 ἀξιοῦσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
 ἀ-ίειν παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ
 βίῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.
 14 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν 'Ἄλλ' εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι
 μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε.
 εἰ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαλίου,
 οὔποτε στανίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν
 πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιῇτε
 ἐ-αιμῶσι. τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος,
 λοιδορίας, ἀντήκοοί ἐστε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τύ-
 ραννον κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν.³
 15 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπε, Καὶ τί οἶει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ

¹ 1 Lenkiau · τὰ Sauppe with the MSS and Stobaeus.

“In the first place, then, taking the objects that we perceive by means of vision, I find by calculation that in regard to sight seeing, despots are worse off. In every land there are things worth seeing and in search of these private citizens visit any city they choose, and attend the national festivals, where all things reputed to be most worth seeing are assembled. But despots are not at all concerned with missions to shows. For it is risky for them to go where they will be no stronger than the crowd, and their property at home is too insecure to be left in charge of others while they are abroad. For they fear to lose their throne, and at the same time to be unable to take vengeance on the authors of the wrong. Perhaps you may say ‘But, after all, such spectacles come to them even if they stay at home.’ No, no, Simonides, only one in a hundred such, and what there are of them are offered to despots at a price so exorbitant that showmen who exhibit some trifle expect to leave the court in an hour with far more money than they get from all the rest of the world in a lifetime.”

"Ah," said Simonides, "but if you are worse off in the matter of sight seeing the sense of hearing, you know, gives you the advantage. Praise, the sweetest of all sounds is never lacking for all your courtiers praise everything you do and every word you utter. Abuse on the contrary, that is to be feared of sounds is never in your ears for no one likes to speak evil of a despot in his presence."

And what pleasure, 'bel Hier, 'en es, do I'

MISS at 10:10 a.m.

average = 10.75

λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῇ τις σαφῶς, ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ τυράννῳ; ἢ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ὑποπτοι ὥσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι;

16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἰέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς, ἐκείνῳ γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὥς οὐχὶ δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.

17 Καὶ οἷδά γε, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν οἱ πλείστοι ἡδίων ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡδίων ἂν δειπνῆσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερ-

18 βάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτάς· πλὴν οἱ τυράννοι· ἔκπλεω γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ παρεσκευασμένοι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν

19 ἰδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκείνο εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τις παραθῇται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσούτῳ θάττον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως δαιτωμένων.

20 Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἢ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡῶνται οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.

you suppose, of this shrinking from evil words, when one knows well that all harbour evil thoughts against the despot, in spite of their silence? Or what pleasure comes of this praise, do you think, when the praises sound suspiciously like flattery?

"Well yes," replied Simonides, "in this of course 10 I agree with you entirely, Hiero, that praise from the freest is sweetest. But this, now, you will not persuade anyone to believe, that the things which support human life do not yield you a far greater number of pleasures."

"Yes, Simonides, and I know that the reason 17 why most men judge that we have more enjoyment in eating and drinking than private citizens is this, they think that they themselves would find the dinner served at our table better eating than what they get. Anything, in fact, that is better than what they are accustomed to gives them pleasure. This is why all men look forward to the festivals, 18 except the despots. For their table is always laden with plenty, and admits of no extras on feast days. Here then is one pleasure in respect of which they are worse off than the private citizen, the pleasure of anticipation. But further, your own experience tells 19 you, I am sure, that the greater the number of superfluous dishes set before a man, the sooner a feeling of repletion comes over him, and so, as regards the duration of his pleasure too, the man who has many courses put before him is worse off than the moderate liver."

"But surely," said Simonides, "so long as the 20 appetite holds out, the man who dines at the costlier banquet has far more pleasure than he who is served with the cheaper meal."

δισίῳν μόνον ὑμῖν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν κάλλιστον ἴδητε τούτῳ συνεῖναι.

7 Νῦν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, εἴρηκας ἐν ᾧ γε, σάφ' ἴσθι, μειονεκτοῦμεν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δήπου καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς. δεύτερος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν φαυλοτέρων
28 πάνυ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ἄχρηστος νομίζεται. τῷ τοίνυν τυράννῳ, ἂν μὴ ξένην γῆμῃ, ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειόνων γαμεῖν, ὥστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπείαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μέγιστον φρονουσῶν γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μάλιστα, αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δούλων παροῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν τι ἀγαπῶνται, ἐὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὀργὰς καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν.

29 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἔτι αὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς τεκνοποιοῖς μειονεκτεῖ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ὁ τύραννος. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφραίνει,
30 πάντες δήπου ἐπιστάμεθα. ὁ δὲ ἔρως πολὺ αὖ ἐθέλει ἡκιστα τῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἐτοίμων ἡδεταί ὁ ἔρως ἐφιέμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ ἂν¹ τις ἄπειρος ὦν δίψους τοῦ πιεῖν ἀπολαύοι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄπειρος ὦν ἔρωτος ἄπειρός ἐστι τῶν ἡδίστων ἀφροδισίων.

31 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰέρων οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπιγελάσας, Πῶς λέγεις, ἔφη, ᾧ Ἰέρων; τυράννῳ οὐ φῆς παιδικῶν ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μὴν

¹ οὐκ ἂν Stephanus: «I S. with the MSS. and Stobaeus.

satisfaction of the carnal appetites were the only motive that produces in you the craving for despotism. For in this matter you are free to enjoy the fairest that meets your eye.

"I assure you that we are worse off than private 27 citizens in the matter to which you now refer. First take marriage. It is commonly held that a marriage into a family of greater wealth and influence is most honourable, and is a source of pride and pleasure to the bridegroom. Next to that comes a marriage with equals. A marriage with inferiors is considered positively degrading and useless. Now unless a 28 despot marries a foreign girl, he is bound to marry beneath him, and so the thing to be desired does not come his way. And where it is exceedingly pleasant to receive the attentions of the proudest of ladies, the attentions of slaves are quite unappreciated when shown, and any little shortcomings produce grievous outbursts of anger and annoyance.

"In his relations with favourites, again, even much 29 more than in his relations with women, the despot is at a disadvantage. We all know, I suppose, that passion increases the sweets of love beyond measure. Passion, however, is very shy of entering the heart 30 of a despot, for passion is fain to desire not the easy prize, but the hoped for joy. Therefore, just as a man who is a stranger to thirst can get no satisfaction out of drinking, so he who is a stranger to passion is a stranger to love's sweetest pleasures."

To this speech of Hiero's Simonides replied, 31 laughing.

"How say you, Hiero? You deny that passion springs up in a despot's heart? Then how about

συ, ἔφη, ἐρῆς Δαϊλόχου τοῦ καλλίστου ἐπικαλου-
μένου ;

- 32 "Οτι μὰ τὸν Δι', ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, οὐ τοῦ
έτοίμου παρ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι τυχεῖν τούτου
μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἥκιστα τυράννω
33 προσήκοντος κατεργάσασθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ ἐρῶ
μὲν Δαϊλόχου ὥνπερ ἴσως ἀναγκάζει ἡ φύσις
ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν καλῶν, τούτων δὲ
ὧν ἐρῶ τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ
βουλομένου πάννυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν,
βία δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἥττον ἂν μοι δοκῶ
34 ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ ἑμαυτὸν κακόν τι ποιεῖν. παρὰ μὲν
γὰρ πολεμίων ἀκόντων λαμβάνειν πάντων ἡδιστον
ἐγώ γε νομίζω εἶναι, παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν βουλομένων
35 ἡδισται οἶμαι αἱ χάριτές εἰσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ παρὰ
τοῦ ἀντιφιλοῦντος ἡδεῖαι μὲν αἱ ἀντιβλέψεις,
ἡδεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις, ἡδεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀποκρίσεις,
ἡδισται δὲ καὶ ἐπαφροδιτόταται αἱ μάχαι τε
36 καὶ ἔριδες· τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων παιδικῶν ὑπολαύειν
λεηλασίᾳ, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἰκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ
ἀφροδισίοις. καίτοι τῷ μὲν ληστῇ παρέχει τινὰς
ὅμως ἡδονὰς τό τε κέρδος καὶ τὸ ἀνιᾶν τὸν
ἐχθρόν· τὸ δὲ οὐ ἂν ἐρᾷ τις τούτῳ ἡδεσθαι
ἀνιωμένῳ καὶ φιλοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ ἄπτεσθαι
ἀχθομένου πῶς οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἤδη δυσχερὲς τὸ
37 πάθημα καὶ οἰκτρὸν ; καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰδιώτῃ
εὐθὺς τεκμήριόν ἐστιν, ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενός τι
ὑπουργῇ, ὅτι ὡς φιλῶν χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι,
ὅτι οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης ὑπηρετεῖ, τῷ δὲ
τυράννῳ οὐποτ' ἐστι πιστεῦσαι, ὡς φιλεῖται.
38 ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ τοὺς¹ διὰ φόβον ὑπηρετοῦντας
ὡς ἢ μάλιστ' ἂν δύνωνται ἐξεικάζουσιν αὐτοὺς

your passion for Dailochus, whom they call most fair?"

"Why, Simonides, the explanation, of course, is 32
this I desire to get from him not what I may have,
apparently, for the asking, but that which a despot
should be the last to take The fact is, I desire of 33
Dailochus just that which human nature, maybe,
drives us to ask of the fair But what I long to get,
I very strongly desire to obtain by his goodwill,
and with his consent, but I think I could sooner
desire to do myself an injury than to take it from
him by force For to take from an enemy against 34
his will is, I think, the greatest of all pleasures, but
favours from a loved one are very pleasant, I fancy,
only when he consents For instance, if he is in 35
sympathy with you, how pleasant are his looks, how
pleasant his questions and his answers, how very
pleasant and ravishing are the struggles and bicker-
ings. But to take advantage of a favourite against 36
his will seems to me more like brigandage than
love Nay, your brigand finds some pleasure in his
gain and in hurting his foe, but to feel pleasure in
hurting one whom you love, to be hated for your
affection, to disgust him by your touch, surely that
is a mortifying experience and pitiful The fact is, 37
a private citizen has instant proof that any act of
compliance on the part of his beloved is prompted by
affection, since he knows that the service rendered
is due to no compulsion, but the despot can never
feel sure that he is loved For we know that acts 38
of service prompted by fear copy as closely as

ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλείστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτο
 6 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος
 σαφῶς οἶδα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι, ὅτι οἱ
 τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα μετέ-
 7 χουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλείστα κέκτην-
 ται. αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα
 ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον
 τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα
 κακόν, τούτου πλείστον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέ-
 8 χουσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ
 πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον πολεμῇ, ἔξεστιν
 ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβου-
 μένους, μὴ τις αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι
 πάντες πανταχῇ ὥς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται.
 αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν ὥπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι
 διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλοφόρους ἀεὶ συμπεριάγε-
 9 σθαι.

Ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται, ἐὰν καὶ στρα-
 τεύωνταί ποί εἰς πολεμίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδάν
 γε ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν σφίσιν ἡγοῦνται
 εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν
 πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις πολεμίοις
 10 ἴσασιν ὄντες. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύωσιν
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, ἐὰν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους
 ὄντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδάν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν, ἐν
 ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ
 τύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ
 ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
 11 φυλακτέον οἶεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις
 καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου
 ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ

most things than your eyes, should be equally blind to it. But I know well enough by experience, Simonides, and I tell you that despots get the smallest share of the greatest blessings, and have most of the greatest evils. Thus, for instance, if peace is held to be a great blessing to mankind, very little of it falls to the share of despots. If war is a great evil, of that despots receive the largest share. To begin with, so long as their state is not engaged in a war in which all take part, private citizens are free to go wherever they choose without fear of being killed. But all despots move everywhere as in an enemy's country, at any rate they think they are bound to wear arms continually themselves, and to take an armed escort about with them at all times.

"Secondly, in the event of an expedition against an enemy's country, private citizens at least think themselves safe as soon as they have come home. But when despots reach their own city, they know that they are now among more enemies than ever. Again, suppose that strangers invade their city in superior force, true, the weaker are conscious of danger while they are outside the walls, yet once they are inside the fortress, all feel themselves bestowed in safety. But the despot is not out of danger even when he passes within the palace gates, nay, it is just there that he thinks he must walk most warily. Once again, to private citizens a truce or peace brings rest from war, but despots are never at peace with the people subject to their

ἄμα πράττων, ὥς οὐκ ἀδικῶι τετοίηκει. οὕτως
 18 οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ τοιοῦμεια εἶναι καὶ
 ὅταν ἀποθάνωσι αὖτ' ἐφοβήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον
 τούτου θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ
 ῥόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων
 διατελεῖ ὁ τυρραῖος, ὃν ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

III. Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὥς κοιωιοῦσιν
 οἱ τυρραῖοι. τρῶτοι μὲν εἰ μετὰ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώ
 2 ποῖς ἢ φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. ὅς γὰρ ἂν
 φιλῆται δητὸν ὑπὸ τινων, ἡδεως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ
 φιλοῦντες παρόντα ορῶσι, ἡδέως δ' εὖ τοιοῦσι,
 ποθοῦσι δέ, ἂν τοῦ ἀτῆ, ἡδιστα δὲ πάλιν
 προσιόντα δέχοιται, συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 ἀγαθοῖς, συιετικουροῦσι δέ, εἰάν τι σφαλλόμενον
 3 ὀρῶσι οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι
 ἢ φιλία μέγιστοι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡδιστον αἰθρώτοις
 ἐστὶ μόνους γοῦν τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολ
 λαὶ τῶν πολλων νητοιὶ ἀποκτείνειν, δηλὸν ὅτι
 διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντήρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς
 τῶι γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας εἶναι
 4 ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα
 γυνή, οὐδὲν ἥττον τουτου ἔνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ
 ἀνδρες, εἰάνπερ ἢ φιλία δοκῇ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος
 5 διαμένειν τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε
 το φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι, ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα
 τὰγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν
 καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων.

6 Καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος τοιοῦτου ὄντος
 μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα εἰ

¹ Cyropied a 1 vl. 24

² Irel should be rendered "though," not "since" here,

wrong in what he has done, so far are his deeds from seeming honourable even to himself. Even 18 the death of those whom he feared does not restore him to confidence; he is yet more on his guard afterwards than before. And now I have shown you the kind of war that a despot wages continually.

III. "Turn next to friendship, and behold how despots share in it. First let us consider whether friendship is a great blessing to mankind. When a 2 man is loved by friends, I take it, they rejoice at his presence, delight to do him good, miss him when he is absent, greet him most joyfully on his return, rejoice with him in his good fortune, unite in aiding him when they see him tripping ¹. Even states are 3 not blind to the fact that friendship is a very great blessing, and very delightful to men. At any rate, many states have a law that adulterers only may be put to death with impunity, obviously for this reason, because they believe them to be destroyers of the wife's friendship with her husband, although, ² 4 when a woman's lapse is the result of some accident, husbands do not honour their wives any less on that account, provided that wives seem to reserve their affection unblemished. In my judgment, to be 5 loved is a blessing so precious that I believe good things fall literally *of themselves* on him who is loved from gods and men alike.

"Such, then, is the nature of this possession—a 6 possession wherein despots above all other men are

for it introduces a reason why one might suppose that there would be some restriction on the right to kill an adulterer, and not the reason why all adulterers may be killed with impunity. Compare, for instance, Plato, *Protagoras*, 335 a. The "accident" is, of course, rape.

δὲ βούλει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 7 ὥδε ἐπίσκειναι. βεβαιόταται μὲν γὰρ δῆπου
 δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας καὶ
 παισὶ πρὸς γονέας καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς ἀδελφούς
 καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς
 8 ἑταίρους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὐρήσεις
 μὲν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ὑπὸ τούτων μάλιστα φίλου-
 μένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας
 ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ' ὑπὸ παίδων
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφούς ἐν
 τυραννίσιν ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς
 δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους
 διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα
 9 δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. οἵτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
 φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμῳ
 συνηναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου
 γέ τινος οἴεσθαι χρὴ αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι;

IV. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον
 μετέχει, πῶς οὐχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ;
 ποῖα μὲν γὰρ συνουσία ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποῖα δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ
 ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων ἡδὺς
 2 ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς
 πρὸς τινος ἔχειν ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννω·
 ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς,
 τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύσασθαι
 διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακὸν τι
 3 φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες
 τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστου ἄξiai.
 πολίται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ
 μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς

stinted If you want to know that I am speaking the truth, Simonides, consider the question in this way The firmest friendships, I take it, are supposed to be those that unite parents to children, children to parents, wives to husbands, comrades to comrades Now you will find, if you will but observe, that private citizens are, in fact, loved most deeply by these But what of despots? Many have slain their own children, many have themselves been murdered by their children, many brothers, partners in despotism, have perished by each other's hand, many have been destroyed even by their own wives,¹ aye, and by comrades whom they accounted their closest friends Seeing, then, that they are so hated by those who are bound by natural ties and constrained by custom to love them most, how are we to suppose that they are loved by any other being?

IV "Next take confidence Surely he who has very little of that is stinted in a great blessing? What companionship is pleasant without mutual trust? What intercourse between husband and wife is delightful without confidence? What squire is pleasant if he is not trusted? Now of this confidence in others despots enjoy the smallest share They go in constant suspicion even of their meat and drink, they bid their servitors taste them first, before the libation is offered to the gods, because of their misgiving that they may sup poison in the dish or the bowl Again, to all other men their fatherland is very precious For citizens ward one another without pay from their slaves and from

¹ See Introduction

κακούργους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίῳ
 4 θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκειν. οὕτω δὲ πόρρῳ προεληλύ-
 θασι φυλακῆς, ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ
 μαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ
 τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἕκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν
 5 πολιτῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν
 ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αὐτοῖς αἱ
 πόλεις μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν
 τύραννον, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἵργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν,
 ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου καὶ
 εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰστᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν τοῦτο
 ποιησάντων.

6 Εἰ δὲ σὺ οἶει, ὥς πλείω ἔχων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κτή-
 ματα ὁ τύραννος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 εὐφραίνεται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς Σιμωνίδῃ,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἰδιωτῶν γένων-
 ται κρείττονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν
 τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἥττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιά,
 οὕτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ ὅταν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλείω
 φαίνεται ἔχων, τότε εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐτέ-
 ρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχῃ, τούτῳ λυπεῖται· τού-
 τους γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἡγεῖται αὐτῷ τοῦ πλούτου
 7 εἶναι. οὐδέ γε θᾶττόν τι γίνεται τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ
 τῷ ἰδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτης οἰκίας ἢ
 ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων
 ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυ-
 ρῶν, ἃ ἐστὶ πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα
 κατεργάσασθαι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων.
 8 ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας ὄψει¹ οὕτως ὀλίγους
 τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὥς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ
 τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ

evildoers, to the end that none of the citizens may
perish by a violent death. They have gone so far 4
in measures of precaution that many have made a
law whereby even the companion of the bloodguilty
is deemed impure, and so—thanks to the fatherland
—every citizen lives in security. But for despots 5
the position is the reverse in this case too. Instead
of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the
slayer of the despot, and, whereas they exclude
the murderers of private persons from the temples,
the cities so far from treating assassins in the same
manner, actually put up statues of them in the holy
places.

“If you suppose that just because he has more 6
possessions than the private citizen, the despot gets
more enjoyment out of them, this is not so either,
Simonides. Trained athletes feel no pleasure when
they prove superior to amateurs, but they are cut to
the quick when they are beaten by a rival athlete, in
like manner the despot feels no pleasure when he is
seen to possess more than private citizens, but is
vexed when he has less than other despots, for
he regards them as his rivals in wealth. Nor even 7
does the despot gain the object of his desire any
quicker than the private citizen. For the private
citizen desires a house or a farm or a servant, but
the despot covets cities or wide territory or harbours
or strong citadels, and these are far more difficult and
perilous to acquire than the objects that attract the
citizen. And, moreover, you will find that even 8
poverty is rarer among private citizens than among
despots. For much and little are to be measured not

¹ ἔψαι οὐχ S with the MSS and Stobaeus οὐχ was
removed by Bremi.

ὀλίγα,¹ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν
 ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανὰ πολλά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν
 9 ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα ὀλίγα. τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ
 πολλαπλάσια ἤττον ἱκανά ἐστιν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα
 δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις
 ἔξεστι τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέ-
 ραν, ὅπῃ βούλονται, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέ-
 χεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ
 ἀναγκαιοτάται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακὰς εἰσι·
 τὸ δὲ τούτων συντέμνειν ὀλεθρος δοκεῖ εἶναι.
 10 ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου
 ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους οἰκτεῖροι τις ὥς
 πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται δι' ἔνδειαν κακόν
 τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους
 11 ἀθλίους ἂν τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως καλοῖη; οἱ
 τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται πλεῖστα συλᾶν
 ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς
 ἀναγκαῖας δαπάνας αἰεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων.
 ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος αἰεὶ ἀναγκάζονται
 στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι.

V. Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ
 Σιμωνίδῃ, τῶν τυράννων. γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ
 οὐδὲν ἤττον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀλκίμους² τε καὶ
 σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι
 φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους, μή τι τολμήσωσι
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἕνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς, μή τι
 μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μή ἐπιθυμήσῃ
 2 τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ
 τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαιρῶνται, τίνες
 ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ
 ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις; οἱ
 μὲν ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ

by number, but in relation to the owner's needs, so that what is more than enough is much, and what is less than enough is little. Therefore, the 9 despot with his abundance of wealth has less to meet his necessary expenses than the private citizen. For while private citizens can cut down the daily expenditure as they please, despots cannot, since the largest items in their expenses and the most essential are the sums they spend on the life-guards, and to curtail any of these means ruin. Besides, when men 10 can have all they need by honest means, why pity them as though they were poor? May not those who through want of money are driven to evil and unseemly expedients in order to live, more justly be accounted wretched and poverty-stricken? Now, 11 despots are not seldom forced into the crime of robbing temples and their fellow men through chronic want of cash to meet their necessary expenses. Living, as it were, in a perpetual state of war, they are forced to maintain an army, or they perish.

V "Despots are oppressed by yet another trouble, Simonides, which I will tell you of. They recognize a stout hearted, a wise or an upright man as easily as private citizens do. But instead of admiring such men, they fear them,—the brave lest they strike a bold stroke for freedom, the wise lest they hatch a plot, the upright lest the people desire them for leaders. When they get rid of such 2 men through fear, who are left for their use, save only the unrighteous, the vicious and the servile,—the unrighteous being trusted because, like the

¹ ὀλίγα Coppelio . Ικανὸν S with the MSS and Stobaeus

² ἀλκιμους Stobaeus κοσμικούς S with the MSS

οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γειόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γίνονται, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας εἶκα, οἱ δ' ἀνδραποδῶδεις διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐλεύθεροί εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

3 Ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ὅτιεν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὐτ' ἂν σώζεσθαι δύιαιτο οὐτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὐτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινότερους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἡδονταὶ μᾶλλον καὶ 4 τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων ἀφθοῖα τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὖσι ταπεινότεροις αὐτοῖς οἶονται χρῆσθαι.

VI. Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κακεῖνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, ὅσαις ἐγὼ 1 χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος 2 ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὅποτε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν 3 μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ὥδαίς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης¹ ἐπιθυμίας 4 ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων. νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλῶν

despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove their masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others.

“Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his 3 city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout-hearted and well armed; rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body-guard. Again, even 4 when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy; for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them.

VI. “But now, Simonides,” he continued, “I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. I communed with my fellows then: they pleased me 2 and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. But now I am cut 3 off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves

¹ καίτης Hermann : κοίτης S. with the MSS.

οἱ τῆραι τοὶ τὰς πόλεις μὴ οὕτως εὐλείθεροι γειόμεναι ἐγερταί· οἱ δὲ ἀκρατεῖς τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξοίσιας εἶεν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδραγαθὺν εἰς διότι οἱ δὲ αἱ τοὶ ἀξιοῖσιν εὐλείθεροι εἶναι χαλεπὸν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀβήημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀιαγκαῖσθαι.

- 3 Ἴτι δὲ εἰλό· οὐ μὲν ἀιαγκῇ καὶ τὸν τῆραι τοὶ εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὗτ' ἂν σώζεσθαι δύναίτο οἱτ' αἱ εἰδαιμοιεύ· ἡ δὲ τυραγνὶς ἀιαγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἐάντων πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὗτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οἱτ' εἰό· τοὺς χαίρουσι τοὺς πόλ· τας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξείνους δεινότερους τῶι πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἡδοῖται μᾶλλον καὶ 4 τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γειομέων ἀφθορία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνεται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραινος εἰδεστέροις γὰρ οὗσι ταπεινότεροις αὐτοῖς οἶονται χρῆσθαι.

- VI. Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδῃ, καὶ κείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, ὅσαις ἐγὼ 1 χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραινος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ 2 γὰρ συιῆν μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμειος ἡδομέοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαντῶ, ὅποτε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ὧδαίς 3 τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης¹ ἐπιθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι 3 μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων

despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove then masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others

"Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his 3 city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout hearted and well armed, rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body guard. Again, even 4 when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy, for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them

VI "But now, Simonides," he continued, "I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. I communed with my fellows then they pleased me 2 and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. But now I am cut 3 off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves

¹ αὐτοῖς Hermann αὐτοῖς S with the MSS

ἔχειν τοῖς ἐπιστοῖς, ἀποστρέφεται δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ
 ἰδέσθαι ἐκείνους ἐκείνους δὲ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐσοῦσαν
 εἴησαν ἐμὴ παρ' αὐτῶν μέλου, ἐὰ καὶ ὕπνου
 4 οὐκ ἔνι, καὶ φιλιάρτοι, καὶ τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ
 ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐσομένην, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ὀβρι-
 ληξίαι, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φιλιάρτους.
 τὰς καὶ μήτ' ὁπλῶν ἔχειν ἐθέλειν περὶ αὐτῶν
 μήτ' ὠλισμέσιν ἰδέσθαι θεῖσθαι πῶς οἱ ἀργα-
 5 λῶν ἐστὶ τρίγμα: ἐπεὶ δὲ ξένους μὲν μῦλλον ἢ
 πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάρους δὲ μῦλλον ἢ
 Ἕλλησιν, ἐπιθιμῆν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δοῦ-
 λους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δοῦλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν
 ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ ψυχῆς ἐπὶ
 6 φόβῳ κατατεπληγμένης τεκμήσια εἶναι: ὁ γὰρ
 τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 λυπηρὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων
 συμ-αφαιρουμένων λυμῶν γίγνεται.

7 Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμων-
 ιδῆ, καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμῖα φάλαγγι πλησίον
 αἰτετάξω, ἀναμνήσθητι, ποῖον μὲν τινα σῖτον
 ἡροῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ποῖον δὲ τινα ὕπνου
 8 ἐκοιμῶ. οἶα μέντοι σοι τότε ἦν τὰ λυπηρά, τοι-
 αῦτά ἐστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἐπεὶ δεινότερα· οὐ
 γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολε-
 μίους ὁρᾷν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.

9 Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν
 εἶπεν· Ὑπέρευ μοι δοκεῖς ἔνια λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ
 πόλεμος φοβερόν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ Ἰέρων, ἡμεῖς
 γε ὅταν ὦμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστά-
 μενοι θαρραλέως δείπνου τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχά-
 νομεν.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδῃ

instead of friends are my comrades, I am cut off from my pleasant intercourse with them, since I see in them no sign of good will towards me. Drink and sleep I avoid as a snare. To fear a crowd, and yet fear solitude, to fear to go unguarded, and yet fear the very men who guard you, to recoil from attendants unarmed and yet dislike to see them armed—surely that is a cruel predicament! And then, to trust foreigners more than citizens, strangers more than Greeks, to long to keep free men slaves, and yet be forced to make slaves free—do you not think that all these are sure tokens of a soul that is crushed with fear?¹ Fear, you know, is not only painful in itself by reason of its presence in the soul, but by haunting us even in our pleasures it spoils them utterly.

“If, like me, you are acquainted with war, Simonides, and ever had the enemy's battle line close in front of you, call to mind what sort of food you ate at that time, and what sort of sleep you slept. I tell you the pains that despots suffer are such as you suffered then. Nay, they are still more terrible, for despots believe that they see enemies not in front alone, but all around them.

To this Simonides made answer “Excellent words in part, I grant! War is indeed a fearsome thing nevertheless, Hiero, our way, when we are on active service is this—we post sentries to guard us, and sup and sleep with a good courage.

Then Hiero answered “No doubt you do, 10

¹ *Cyropaedia* III i 27.

αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ προφιλάτουσιν οἱ ἰῶμοι, ὥστε
 ἐπὶ ἰαίτῳ φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἰμῶν· οἱ δὲ
 τίραιοι μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ὥστερ θερυσ-
 11 τας. καὶ δεῖ μὲν δῆ-ον τοῦ φύλακας μηδὲν
 οὕτω ποιεῖν δυνάσθαι ὥς τιστοῖς εἶναι· τιστόν
 δὲ εἶνα πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι εὔρεῖν ἢ πάντες πολλοὺς
 ἔργατας ὁποῖον βούλει ἔργον, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ὁπόταν χρημάτων μὴ εἶκα παρῶσι οἱ φυλάτ-
 τοιτες, ἐξῇ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολὺν
 πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν τύραιον ἢ ὅσα
 πολλὸν χρόνοι φυλάττοιτες παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου
 λαμβύουσιν.

12 Ὁ δ' ἐξηλῶσας ἡμᾶς, ὥς τοὺς μὲν φίλους
 μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς
 πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οἷδ' αὖθ' οὕτως
 13 ἔχει φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν ἰομίσαις ποτὲ
 εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῇς, ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλείστα λαμβά-
 νων παρὰ σοῦ ἴδιστ' ἂν ὥς τάχιστα ἐξ ὀφθαλ-
 μῶν σου γένοιτο; ὁ τι γὰρ ἂν τις λάβῃ παρὰ
 τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἰομίζει, πρὶν ἂν
 14 ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται. ἐχθροὺς
 δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις
 ἐξεῖναι χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν, ὅτι ἐχθροὶ
 αὐτῶν εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τυραννοῦμενοι, τούτους δὲ
 μήτε κατακαίνειν ἄπαιτας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἷόν
 τε ἢ τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει; ἀλλ' εἰδότας,¹ ὅτι
 ἐχθροὶ εἰσι, τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέη
 15 καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι, εὖ δ' ἴσθι
 καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, ὅτι καὶ οὗς τῶν πολιτῶν
 δεδιασι, χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὀρώσι,
 χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος
 εἰ ἀγαθος μὲν εἴη, φοβερός δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι

¹ εἰδότας S

Simonides! For your sentries have sentries in front of them—the laws,—and so they fear for their own skins and relieve you of fear. But despots hire their guards like harvesters. Now the chief qualification 11 required in the guards, I presume, is faithfulness. But it is far harder to find one faithful guard than hundreds of workmen for any kind of work, especially when money supplies the guards, and they have it in their power to get far more in a moment by assassinating the despot than they receive from him for years of service among his guards.

“You said that you envy us our unrivalled power 12 to confer benefits on our friends, and our unrivalled success in crushing our enemies. But that is another delusion. For how can you possibly feel that you 13 benefit friends when you know well that he who receives most from you would be delighted to get out of your sight as quickly as possible? For, no matter what a man has received from a despot, nobody regards it as his own, until he is outside the giver’s dominion. Or again, how can you say 14 that despots more than others are able to crush enemies, when they know well that all who are subject to their despotism are their enemies and that it is impossible to put them all to death or imprison them—else who will be left for the despot to rule over?—and, knowing them to be their enemies, they must beware of them, and, nevertheless, must needs make use of them? And I can assure you of this, 15 Simonides: when a despot fears any citizen, he is reluctant to see him alive, and yet reluctant to put him to death. To illustrate my point, suppose that a good horse makes his master afraid that he will do him some fatal mischief: the man will feel

ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν
 διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῶτο, εὐλα-
 βούμενος, μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις
 16 ἐργάσῃται. καὶ τὰλλὰ γε κτήματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ
 μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἅπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν
 τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμων-
 ίδης, εἶπεν, Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι
 ἡ τιμή, ἣς ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν
 πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι.
 2 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὥς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης,
 ὅποσα λέγεις, τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς
 φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσ
 μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπρο-
 φασίστως, περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται
 δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων ὁδῶν τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραί-
 ρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες
 αἰὲ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις
 οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὄντιν' ἂν αἰὲ τιμῶντες
 3 τυγχάνωσι. καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Ἰέρων, τούτῳ
 διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέ-
 γεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις
 καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἡδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ
 ζῶα· ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις
 ἐμφύεται οὐτ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἂν
 ἐμφύῃ τιμῆς τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν
 ἤδη οἱ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες,
 ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι.
 4 ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπο-
 μένειν, ἃ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπεὶ περ τιμᾶσθε
 διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ

reluctant to slaughter him on account of his good qualities, and yet his anxiety lest the animal may work some fatal mischief in a moment of danger will make him reluctant to keep him alive and use him. Yes, 16 and this is equally true of all possessions that are troublesome as well as useful—it is painful to possess them, and painful to get rid of them."

VII These statements drew from Simonides the following reply: "A great thing, surely, Hiero, is the honour for which men strive so earnestly that they undergo any toil and endure any danger to win it! And what if despotism brings all those troubles that you tell of, yet such men as you, it seems, rush headlong into it that you may have honour, that all men may carry out your behests in all things without question, that the eyes of all may wait on you, that all may rise from their seats and make way for you, that all in your presence may glorify you by deed and word alike (Such, in fact, is the behaviour of subjects to despots and to anyone else who happens to be their hero at the moment.) For 1 indeed it seems to me, Hiero, that in this man differs from other animals—I mean, in this craving for honour. In meat and drink and sleep and love all creatures alike seem to take pleasure, but love of honour is rooted neither in the brute beasts nor in every human being. But they in whom is implanted a passion for honour and praise, these are they who differ most from the beasts of the field, these are accounted men and not mere human beings.¹ And 4 so, in my opinion, you have good reason for bearing all those burdens that despotism lays on you, in that you are honoured above all other men. For no

¹ *Cyropædia* i vi 55

οὐδεμία ἀνθρώπινη ἡδονὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυτέρως
δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη.

6 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰέρων· Ἄλλ', ὦ Σι-
μωνίδη, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν τυράννων ὅμοιαι ἐμοὶ
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οἷάπερ ἐγὼ σοι τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὄντα
6 αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα. οὔτε γὰρ αἱ μὴ ἐξ ἀντιφιλούν-
των ὑπουργίαι χάριτες ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οὔτε
τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ἡδέα ἐφαίνετο. ὥσαύτως
τοῖνυν οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπουργίαι αἱ παρὰ τῶν φοβου-
7 μένων τιμαὶ εἰσι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίημεν ἢ τοὺς
βία ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς
ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανίστασθαι ἢ τοὺς ὁδῶν παρα-
χωροῦντας τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδι-
8 κοῦντας παραχωρεῖν; καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ
πολλοὶ τούτοις, οὓς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν
μάλιστα φοβῶνται, μὴ τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πά-
θωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα
εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν
9 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις γίνεσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἄν-
θρωποι ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἱκανὸν εἶναι
καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες ἔπειτα
τούτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες θεῶνταί
τ' αὐτὸν ὥς οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος ἀγαθὸν ἐκόντες τε
παραχωρῶσι τούτῳ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶν-
ται φιλοῦντές τε καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ στεφανῶσι
κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα καὶ δωρεῖσθαι
ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν
τε τούτον ἀληθῶς, οἱ ἂν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι,
10 καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι. καὶ
ἐγὼγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰ-
σθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβουλευόμενον, ἀλλὰ
φροντιζόμενον, μὴ τι πάθῃ, καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ

human joy seems to be more nearly akin to that of heaven than the gladness which attends upon honours'

To this Hiero replied "Ah, Simonides, I think 5 even the honours enjoyed by despots bear a close resemblance to their courtships, as I have described them to you. The services of the indifferent 6 seemed to us not acts of grace, and favours extorted appeared to give no pleasure. And so it is with the services proffered by men in fear: they are not honours. For how can we say that men who are 7 forced to rise from their seats rise to honour their oppressors, or that men who make way for their superiors desire to honour their oppressors? And as 8 for presents, most men offer them to one whom they hate, and that too at the moment when they have cause to fear some evil at his hands. These acts, I suppose, may not unfairly be taken for acts of servility, but honours, I should say, express the very opposite feelings. For whenever men feel that some person is 9 competent to be their benefactor, and come to regard him as the fountain of blessings, so that henceforward his praise is ever on their lips, everyone of them looks on him as his peculiar blessing, they make way for him spontaneously and rise from their seats, through love and not through fear, crown him for his generosity and beneficence, and bring him freewill offerings, these same men in my opinion, honour that person truly by such services, and he who is accounted worthy of them is honoured in very deed. And, for myself, I count him a happy man who is 10 honoured thus, for I perceive that, instead of being exposed to treason, he is an object of solicitude, lest harm befall him, and he lives his life unassailed

ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι' ἀδικίαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὕτως, ὥς Σιμωνίδῃ, εὖ ἴσθι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.

- 11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρόν ἐστὶ τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττῃ οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφείτο, ὅσπερ ἅπαξ ἐκτῆσατο;
- 12 Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἡ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατόν αὐτῆς ἐστὶ. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν ἢ ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἄλλ' εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὦ Σιμωνίδῃ, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπεὶ περ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδῶν σοι τούτου νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι σε, ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ἰδιωτείας.

- 2 ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκείνο σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μεῖζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναται ἢ, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ

by fear and malice and danger, and enjoys unbroken happiness. But what is the despot's lot? I tell you, Simonides, he lives day and night like one condemned by the judgment of all men to die for his wickedness.

When Simonides had listened to all this he asked 11
 "Pray, how comes it, Hiero, if despotism is a thing so vile, and this is your verdict, that you do not rid yourself of so great an evil, and that none other, for that matter, who has once acquired it, ever yet surrendered despotic power?"

"Simonides," said he, "this is the crowning 12
 misery of despotic power, that it cannot even be got rid of. For how could any despot ever find means to repay in full all whom he has robbed, or himself serve all the terms of imprisonment that he has inflicted? Or how could he forfeit a life for every man whom he has put to death? Ah, 13
 Simonides, he cried, "if it profits any man to hang himself, know what my finding is: a despot has most to gain by it, since he alone can neither keep nor lay down his troubles with profit."

VIII "Well, Hiero, retorted Simonides, "I am not surprised that you are out of heart with despotism for the moment, since you hold that it cuts you off from gaining the affection of mankind, which you covet. Nevertheless, I think I can show you that rule so far from being a bar to popularity, actually has the advantage of a citizen's life. In 2
 trying to discover whether this is so, let us for the time being pass over the question whether the ruler, because of his greater power, is able to confer more favours. Assume that the citizen and

ὅμοια ποιῶσιν ὃ τε ἰδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει, πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν.

Ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παρα-
 3 δειγμάτων. ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης. ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; ἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρων τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω ἐκάτερος τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν
 4 μείζονος ἂν χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι χάριτες πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ
 5 ἰδιώτου δώρημα δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμὴ τις καὶ χάρις συμπάρεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥδιον θεώμεθά τε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν ἰδιωτεύῃ διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ
 6 τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὔσι. καὶ μὴν παιδικά γε, ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ σὺ μάλιστα κατεμέμψω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἥκιστα μὲν γῆρας ἄρχοντος δυσχεραίνει, ἥκιστα δ' αἰσχος, πρὸς ὃν ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὁμιλῶν, τούτου ὑπολογίζεται. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τετιμῆσθαι μάλιστα

the despot act alike, and consider which of the two wins the greater measure of gratitude from the same actions.

“You shall have the most trifling examples to begin with. First, suppose that two men greet 3 someone with a friendly remark on seeing him. One is a ruler, the other a citizen. In this case which greeting, do you think, is the more delightful to the hearer? Or again, both commend the same man. Which commendation, do you think, is the more welcome? Suppose that each does the honours when he offers sacrifice. Which invitation, think you, will be accepted with the more sincere thanks? Suppose they are equally 4 attentive to a sick man. Is it not obvious that the attentions of the mightiest bring most comfort to the patient? Suppose they give presents of equal value. Is it not clear in this case too that half the number of favours bestowed by the mightiest count for more than the whole of the plain citizen’s gift? Nay, to my way of thinking, even the gods 5 cause a peculiar honour and favour to dance attendance on a great ruler. For not only does rule add dignity of presence to a man, but we find more pleasure in the sight of that man when he is a ruler than when he is a mere citizen, and we take more pride in the conversation of those who rank above us than in that of our equals. And 6 favourites, mark you, who were the subject of your bitterest complaint against despotism, are not offended by old age in a ruler, and take no account of ugliness in the patron with whom they happen to be associated. For high rank in itself is a most striking embellishment to the person: it casts a

ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν
 ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν
 καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη
 3 δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν
 φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸν μὲν¹ ἀνάγκης δεόμενον
 ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ
 ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. ὥς δὲ
 4 ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ
 γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι,
 ἄθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθῃσιν, ἀθροίζειν δὲ
 αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις δι-
 δάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι
 ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπί-
 5 χαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα
 δι' ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πολιτικά
 οὕτως περαίνεσθαι; διήρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ
 πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ
 δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μέρει
 6 ἐφεστήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ
 τοῖς χοροῖς ἄθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ
 εὐταξίας καὶ ἵππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ
 ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.
 7 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὁρμῶντό γ' ἂν θᾶττον ὅποι δέοι
 τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θᾶττον εἰσφέροιεν,
 ὅποτε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρη-
 σιμώτατον, ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονικίας
 πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὕτῃ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη.

¹ τὸν μὲν Thalheim: τὸ μὲν MSS.: τὸ μὲν τὸν B., after Stephanus.

efficiently, is a form of activity that is greeted with thanks. The duty of pronouncing censure, using coercion, inflicting pains and penalties on those who come short in any respect, is one that must of necessity give rise to a certain amount of unpopularity. Therefore my sentence is that a great ruler should 3 delegate to others the task of punishing those who require to be coerced, and should reserve to himself the privilege of awarding the prizes. The excellence of this arrangement is established by duly experience. Thus, when we want to have a choral 4 competition, the ruler offers prizes, but the task of assembling the choirs is delegated to chion masters, and others have the task of training them and coercing those who come short in any respect. Obviously, then, in this case, the pleasant part falls to the ruler, the disagreeables fall to others. Why, 5 then, should not all other public affairs be managed on this principle? For all communities are divided into parts—'tribes,' 'wards,' 'unions,' as the case may be—and every one of these parts is subject to its appointed ruler. If, then, the analogy of the 6 choruses were followed and prizes were offered to these parts for excellence of equipment, good discipline, horsemanship, courage in the field and fair dealing in business, the natural outcome would be competition, and consequently an earnest endeavour to improve in all these respects too. And 7 as a matter of course, with the prospect of reward there would be more despatch in starting for the appointed place, and greater promptitude in the payment of war taxes, whenever occasion required. Nay, agriculture itself, most useful of all occupations, but just the one in which the spirit of

αὐτοὺς ; ἢ λέγεις, ὥς φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων
οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων ;

2 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν.
οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώ-
ποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἔκπλεα τὰ δέοντα

3 ἔχωσι, τοσοῦτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν
οὖν τοιοῦτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ
τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς καγαθοῖς
ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα

4 παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις
μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαντῷ φύλακας·
ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπότηται βία ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων
ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἐν πρῶτον τοῦτ' εἴη τῶν
προσ τεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὥς πάντων
ὄντας δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν,
ἂν τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται· γίνονται δέ που,
ὥς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν·
εἰ οὖν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἰεν τεταγμένοι,
καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν εἶδεῖεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι.

5 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις
καὶ κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ
ἀσφάλειαν δύναιτο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως
μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν
χώραν. ἱκανοί γε μὴν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν
τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπί-
6 καιρα φυλάττοντες. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πο-
λεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας καὶ ἑξαπιναίας τίνες
έτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθῆσθαι ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν αἰεὶ
ἐν ὅπλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων ; ἀλλὰ
μὴν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστὶν ὠφελιμώτερον πολί-

say that a ruler, once he becomes popular, will have no further need of a bodyguard?

"No, no, he will need them, of course," said 2
 Simonides "For I know that some human beings
 are like horses—the more they get what they want,
 the more unruly they are apt to become The way 3
 to manage men like that is to put the fear of the
 bodyguard into them And as for the gentlemen,
 you can probably confer greater benefits on them by
 employing mercenaries than by any other means
 For I presume that you maintain the force primarily 4
 to protect yourself But masters have often been
 murdered by their slaves If therefore the first
 duty enjoined on the mercenaries were to act as
 the bodyguard of the whole community and render
 help to all, in case they got wind of any such
 intention—there are black sheep in every fold, as
 we all know—I say, if they were under orders to
 guard the citizens as well as the depot, the citizens
 would know that this is one service rendered to
 them by the mercenaries Nor is this all for 5
 naturally the mercenaries would also be able to
 give fearlessness and security in the fullest measure
 to the labourers and cattle in the country, and the
 benefit would not be confined to your own estates,
 but would be felt up and down the countryside
 Again, they are competent to afford the citizens 6
 leisure for attending to their private affairs by
 guarding the vital positions Besides, should an
 enemy plan a secret and sudden attack, what
 handier agents can be found for detecting or pre-
 venting their design than a standing force, armed
 and organized? Or once more, when the citizens go
 campaigning, what is more useful to them than mer

ταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ
 προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἐτοιμο-
 7 τάτους εἶναι. τὰς δὲ ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ
 ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντας καὶ εἰρήνης
 μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ
 σῶζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλειν τὰ
 8 τῶν πολεμίων δύναιτ' ἄν. ὅταν γε μὴν γνῶσιν
 οἱ πολῖται, ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι
 τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν βουλομέ-
 νους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις,
 προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
 πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα;
 τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων φύλακας.

XI. Χρὴ δέ, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων
 κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν.
 καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνα-
 λούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ
 2 εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' ἐν δ' ἕκαστον
 σκοπῶμεν. οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δα-
 πάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον ἢ γῇ κόσμον ἄν
 σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ
 ναοῖς καὶ παστάσι¹ καὶ ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι
 3 κατεσκευασμένην; ὅπλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἐκπα-
 γλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος
 ἂν φαίνοιο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης
 4 εὐόπλου σοι οὔσης; προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἂν
 δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ ἴδια μόνον
 ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν

cenaries? For these are, as a matter of course, the readiest to bear the brunt of toil and danger and watching. And must not those who possess a standing force impose on border states a strong desire for peace? For nothing equals an organized body of men, whether for protecting the property of friends or for thwarting the plans of enemies. Further, when the citizens get it into their heads that these troops do no harm to the innocent and hold the would be malefactor in check, come to the rescue of the wronged, care for the citizens and shield them from danger, surely they are bound to pay the cost of them with a right good will. At all events they keep guards in their homes for less important objects than these.

XI "Nor should you hesitate to draw on your private property, Hiero, for the common good. For in my opinion the sums that a great despot spends on the city are more truly necessary expenses than the money he spends on himself. But let us go into details. First, which do you suppose is likely to bring you more credit, to own a palace adorned with priceless objects of art, or to have the whole city garnished with walls and temples and sanctuaries and market places and harbours? Which will make you look more terrible to the enemy, to dazzle all beholders with your own glittering pinoply, or to present the whole of your people in goodly armour? Which plan, think you, will yield revenues more abounding, to keep only your own capital employed, or to contrive to bring the capital of all the citizens

¹ *verdes* rests on the authority of Pollux *verdes* S with the MSS.

6 μεμηχανημένος εἷς ἐνεργὰ εἶναι ; τὸ δὲ πάντων
 κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομιζόμενον
 εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα ἄρματοτροφίαν ποτέρως ἂν
 δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλεῖστα τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἄρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς
 τὰς πανηγύρεις ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλεῖστοι
 μὲν ἵπποτρόφοι εἶεν, πλεῖστοι δ' ἀγωνίζονται ;
 νικᾶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἄρματος
 ἀρετῇ ἢ πόλεως, ἧς προστατεύεις, εὐδαιμονία ;
 6 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ
 πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ
 ἂν θαυμάζοιο, ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὥς ἀπὸ πολλῶν
 οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν
 7 πάντων μάλιστα καταγελῶ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοί
 φημι, ὦ Ἰέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων
 τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν ἔαν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην
 τὴν πόλιν, ἧς προστατεύεις, παρέχῃς, εὖ ἴσθι
 νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν
 8 ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς
 κατειργασμένος ἂν εἷς τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀρχομένων, οὐ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα
 δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἰς εἷς ὁ ἀνακηρύττων,
 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὑμνοῖεν ἂν τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν.
 9 περίβλεπτος δὲ ὧν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπῶ ἂν καὶ θαυμα-
 στὸς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ παρὰ
 0 πᾶσιν ἂν εἷς, καὶ ἐξείῃ μὲν ἂν σοι ἔνεκεν
 ἀσφαλείας, εἴ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσονται πορεύ-
 εσθαι, ἐξείῃ δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένουντι τοῦτο πράττειν.

into employment? And what about the breeding
of chariot horses, commonly considered the noblest
and grandest business in the world? By which
method do you think you will gain most credit for
that, if you out do all other Greeks in the number
of teams you breed and send to the festivals, or if
the greatest number of breeders and the greatest
number of competitors are drawn from your city?
And how is the nobler victory gained, by the excel-
lence of your team, or by the prosperity of the
city of which you are the head? Indeed my own 6
opinion is that it is not even seemly for a great despot
to compete with private citizens. For your victory
would excite envy rather than admiration, on the
ground that many estates supply the money that
you spend, and no defeat would be greeted with
so much ridicule as yours. I tell you, Hiero, 7
you have to compete with other heads of states,
and if you cause your state to surpass theirs in
prosperity, be well assured¹ that you are the victor
in the noblest and grandest competition in the
world. And in the first place you will forthwith 8
have secured just what you really want, the affection
of your subjects. Secondly, your victory will not
be proclaimed by one herald's voice, but all the
world will tell of your virtue. The observed of 9
all observers' eyes, you will be a hero, not only to
private citizens, but to many states. you will be
admired not only in your home, but in public among
all men. And you will be free to go wherever you 10
choose, so far as safety is concerned, to see the
sights, and equally free to enjoy them in your

¹ But εὖ ἴσθι is not right. All the MSS have εὖ ἔσσει, which perhaps conceals εὐδαίμων ἔσσει, "you will be happy, being the victor."

αἰεὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴη τῶν βουλο-
 μένων ἐπιδεικνύναι, εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν ἢ
 ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων ὑπηρετεῖν
 11 πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἂν εἴη σοι, ὁ δὲ
 ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίῃ ἂν ἰδεῖν σε:

“Ὡστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῶο ὑπ’
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ
 πειρώμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἄν σε δέοι,
 φόβον δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλ’ ἄλλοις παρέχοις,
 12 μὴ τι πάθῃς, ἐκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις
 ἂν καὶ ἐθελουσίως σου προνοοῦντας θεῶο ἄν, εἰ
 δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους ὀρώῃς
 ἄν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος, οὐκ ἀπορῶν
 δέ, ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις, πάντας
 μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,
 πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν ἰδίων
 13 μαχομένους. θησαυρούς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἂν πάντας
 τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους.

Ἄλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὧ Ἰέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς
 φίλους· σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς· αὖξε δὲ τὴν
 14 πόλιν· σαυτῷ γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῷ δὲ
 αὐτῇ συμμάχους· . . .¹ νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα
 οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους
 τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὅτι περ τὴν
 σὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶ νικᾶν εὖ
 15 ποιῶν. ἔαν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῇς εὖ ποιῶν
 οὐ μὴ σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι.

Κἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῇς, εὖ ἴσθι πάντων τῶν
 ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα
 κεκτήσῃ. εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ φθονηθήσῃ.

¹ Weiske indicates a lacuna here : S. does not.

home, for you will have a throng of aspirants before you, some eager to display something wise or beautiful or good, others longing to serve you. Everyone 11 present will be an ally, everyone absent will long to see you.

"Thus you will be not only the loved, but the adored of mankind. You will need not to court the fair, but to listen patiently to their suit. Anxiety for your welfare will fall not on yourself, but on others. You will have the willing obedience of 12 your subjects, you will mark their unsolicited care for you, and should any danger arise, you will find in them not merely allies, but champions and zealots¹. Accounted worthy of many gifts, and at no loss for some man of goodwill with whom to share them, you will find all rejoicing in your good fortune, all fighting for your interests, as though they were their own. And all the riches in the 13 houses of your friends will be yours in fee.

"Take heart then, Hiero, enrich your friends, for so you will enrich yourself. Exalt the state, for so you will deck yourself with power. Get her allies 14 [for so you will win supporters for yourself]. Account the fatherland your estate, the citizens your comrades, friends your own children, your sons possessions dear as life. And try to surpass all these in deeds of kindness. For if you out-do your friends 15 in kindness, it is certain that your enemies will not be able to resist you.

"And if you do all these things, rest assured that you will be possessed of the fairest and most blessed possession in the world, for none will be jealous of your happiness."

¹ Or 'champions full of zeal.' The *real* is not free from suspicion.

AGESILAUS

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

Ι. Οἶδα μέν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ῥάδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινον γράψαι, ὅμως δ' ἐγχειρητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μειόνων τυγχάνοι ἐπαίνων.

- 2 Περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἂν τις μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς προγόοις ὀνομαζομένοις ἀπομιημονεύεται, ὁπόστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτοις οὐκ
3 ἰδιώταις, ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεῦσιν; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτῃ γ' ἂν τις ἔχοι καταμέμψασθαι αὐτούς, ὥς βασιλεύουσι μέν, πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμότεροι, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνδοξοτάτη· ὥστε οὐ δευτέρων πρω-
4 τεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσι. τῇδὲ γε μὴν καὶ κοινῇ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ· ἢ τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπώποτε φθονήσασα τοῦ προτετιμῆσθαι αὐταὺς ἐπεχείρησε καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν οἷ τε βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων ὠρέχθησαν ἢ ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν ἄλλη μὲν οὐδεμία ἀρχὴ φανερα ἐστὶ διαγεγενημένη ἀδιάσπαστος οὔτε δημοκρατία οὔτε ὀλι-

AGESILAUS

I KNOW how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agesilaus that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory. Nevertheless the attempt must be made. For it would not be seemly that so good a man, just because of his perfection, should receive no tributes of praise, however inadequate.

Now concerning his high birth what greater and nobler could be said than this, that even to day the line of his descent from Heracles¹ is traced through the roll of his ancestors, and those no simple citizens, but kings and sons of kings? Nor are they open to the reproach that though they were kings, they ruled over a petty state. On the contrary, as their family is honoured above all in their fatherland, so is their state glorious above all in Greece, thus they are not first in the second rank, but leaders in a community of leaders. On one account his fatherland and his family are worthy to be praised together, for never at any time has the state been moved by jealousy of their pre-eminence to attempt the overthrow of their government, and never at any time have the kings striven to obtain greater powers than were conferred on them originally at their succession to the throne. For this reason, while no other government—democracy, oligarchy, despotism or kingdom—

¹ Agesilaus was twenty fifth in line of descent from Heracles (Herodotus, VIII. 131, Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. 1, *Agesilaus*, c. 1)

γαρχία οὔτε τυραννίς οὔτε βασιλεία· αὕτη δὲ
μόνη διαμένει συνεχῆς βασιλεία.

6 "Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας
ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος, τάδε τὰ σημεῖα. ἐπεὶ
γὰρ Ἀγίς βασιλεὺς ὢν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρισάντων
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Λεωτυχίδα μὲν ὡς Ἀγίδος ὄντος
υἱοῦ, Ἀγησιλίου δὲ ὡς Ἀρχιδάμου, κρίνασα ἡ
πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον εἶναι Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τῷ
γένει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦτον ἐστήσατο βασιλέα.
καίτοι τὸ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων
κριθέντα τοῦ καλλίστου γέρωσ ἀξιωθῆναι ποίων
ἔτι τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται τῆς γε πρὶν ἄρξαι
αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς;

6 "Ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο, νῦν
ἤδη διηγῆσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοὺς
τρόπους αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους
ἔσεσθαι.

Ἀγησίλαος τοίνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν ἔτυχε τῆς
βασιλείας· ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ,
ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀθροίζων καὶ
ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ

7 Ἕλληνας· βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακε-
δαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος
ὑπέστη, εἰ δώσιν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρ-
τιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς ἑξακισ-
χιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβή-
σεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήνην
ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἂν πολεμεῖν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος,
ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
8 Ἕλληνας. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάνυ ἡγά-
σθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ
Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντι-

can lay claim to an unbroken existence, this kingdom alone stands fast continually

However, there are not wanting signs that even before his reign began Agesilaus was deemed worthy to be king. For on the death of king Agis there was a struggle for the throne between Leotychidas, as the son of Agis, and Agesilaus, as the son of Archidamus. The state decided in favour of Agesilaus, judging him to be the more eligible in point of birth and character alike. Surely to have been pronounced worthy of the highest privilege by the best men in the mightiest state is proof sufficient of his virtue, at least before he began to reign.

I will now give an account of the achievements of his reign, for I believe that his deeds will throw the clearest light on his qualities.

Now Agesilaus was still a young man¹ when he gained the throne. He had been but a short time in power when the news leaked out that the king of the Persians was assembling a great navy and army for an attack on the Greeks. While the Lacedæmonians and their allies were considering the matter, Agesilaus declared, that if they would give him thirty Spartans, two thousand newly enrolled citizens, and a contingent of six thousand allies, he would cross to Asia and try to effect a peace, or, in case the barbarian wanted to fight, would keep him so busy that he would have no time for an attack on the Greeks. His eagerness to pay back the Persian in his own coin for the former invasion of Greece, his determination to wage an offensive

¹ He was over forty, but see the Introduction

διαβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, τό τε αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπιόντα
μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ
τάκεινον δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τα
τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντῳ
ἐκρίνετο τὸ μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς
'Ασίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι.

0 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε,
πῶς ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν, ὥς ἐστρατή-
0 γησεν, ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγήσαιο ἃ ἔπραξεν; ἐν
τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο
Τισσαφέρνῃς μὲν ὥμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπεί
σαιτο, ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὐς πέμπσειε πρὸς βασιλέα
ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτονό-
μους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, Ἀγησί-
λαος δὲ ἀντῴμοσε σπονδὰς ἄξιον ἀδόλως, ὀρισά-
1 μειος τῆς πρίξεως τρεῖς μῆνας. ὁ μὲν δὲ
Τισσαφέρνῃς ἃ ὥμοσεν εὐθύς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντί
γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ
βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο
Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὁμως
2 ἐνέμεινε ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον
καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι Τισσαφέρνην μὲν
ἐμφαίisas ἐπίορκον ἄπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν,
ἑαυτὸν δ' ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὅρκους ἐμπε
δοῦντα, ἔπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενον, τάντας
ἐτοίγησε καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας
συντίβεσθαι ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι βούλοιτο.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μίγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνῃς ἐπὶ τῷ
καταβῆντι στρατεύματι προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ
πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀτίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
σίμμαχοι καὶ λακεῖαιμοίων οἱ παρόντες μᾶλα
ἠχθέσθαι φαιεροὶ ἐγίνοντο, νομίζοντες μείονα
64

rather than a defensive war, and his wish to make the enemy pay for it rather than the Greeks, were enough to arouse an immediate and widespread enthusiasm for his project. But what appealed most to the imagination was the idea of entering on a struggle not to save Greece, but to subdue Asia.

And what of his strategy after he had received the army and had sailed out? A simple narrative of his actions will assuredly convey the clearest impression of it. This, then, was his first act in Asia. Tissaphernes had sworn the following oath to Agesilaus: "If you will arrange an armistice to last until the return of the messengers whom I will send to the King, I will do my utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia", and Agesilaus on his part had sworn to observe the armistice honestly, allowing three months for the transaction. What followed? Tissaphernes forthwith broke his oath, and instead of arranging a peace, applied to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though well aware of this, he none the less continued to keep the armistice. I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble achievement. By showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere, and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it.

The arrival of the new army emboldened Tissaphernes to send an ultimatum to Agesilaus, threatening war unless he withdrew from Asia, and the allies and the Lacedaemonians present made no concealment of their chagrin, believing that the

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 ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι συμμάχους ἐοίησεν.
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 ἡγγεῖλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὥς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς
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strength of Agesilaus was weaker than the Persian king's armament. But Agesilaus with a beaming face bade the envoys of Tissaphernes inform their master that he was profoundly grateful to him for his perjury, by which he had gained the hostility of the gods for himself and had made them allies of the Greeks. Without a moment's delay he gave 14 the word to his troops to pack up in preparation for a campaign, and warned the cities that lay on the lines of march to Caria to have their markets ready stocked. He advised by letter the Greeks of Ionia, the Aeolid and the Hellespont, to send their contingents for the campaign to his headquarters at Ephesus.

Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was 15 without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his estate in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. But 16 instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks.

This achievement also was thought to be a proof 17 of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd

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Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was 15 without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his estate in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. But 16 instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks.

This achievement also was thought to be a proof 17 of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd

- 18 τίσαι· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰληφθαι ἀντίπροικα τὰ πάντα ἐπωλεῖτο, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις προεῖπεν ὠνεῖσθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβήσοιτο ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ στράτευμα κατὰγων· τοὺς δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε γραφομένους, ὅπόσου τι πρίαιντο, προῖεσθαι τὰ χρήματα. ὥστε οὐδὲν προτελέσαντες οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸ δημόσιον βλάβσαντες πάντες παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἔλαβον.
- 19 ἔτι δὲ ὁπότε αὐτόμολοι, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς βασιλέα ἰόντες χρήματα ἐθέλοιεν ὑφηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπεμέλετο ὡς διὰ τῶν φίλων ἀλίσκοιτο, ὅπως ἅμα μὲν χρηματίζοιντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γίγνοιτο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐθύς πολλοὺς ἐρασ-
τὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας ἐποιήσατο.
- 20 Γινώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθουμένη καὶ ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πολὺν χρόνον στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη δὲ ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφὴν παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ μόνον τοῦ βία χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ
- 21 καὶ τοῦ πραότητι προσάγεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς ἀλίσκο-
μένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁπότε μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἰσθοίτο καταλελειμ-
μένα παιδάρια μικρὰ¹ ἐμπόρων, ἃ πολλοὶ ἐπώ-
λουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν αὐτὰ καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγ-
22 κομίζοιντό ποι. τοῖς δ' αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλει-

¹ μικρὰ MSS. : παρὰ S. 'with Reuchlin.

use of this occasion to enrich his friends. For the 18
 accumulation of plunder was so great that things were
 selling for next to nothing. So he gave his friends
 the word to buy, saying that he was shortly going
 down to the coast with his army¹. The auctioneers
 were ordered to have a schedule made of the prices
 obtained and to give delivery of the goods. Thus
 without capital outlay, and without any loss to the
 treasury, all his friends made a prodigious amount
 of money. Further, whenever deserters offered to 19
 give information where plunder might be taken,
 they naturally went to the king. In such a case
 he took care that the capture should be effected by
 his friends, so that they might at one and the same
 time make money and add to their laurels. The
 immediate result was that he had many ardent
 suitors for his friendship.

Recognizing that a country plundered and de 20
 populated could not long support an army, whereas
 an inhabited and cultivated land would yield inex-
 haustible supplies, he took pains not only to crush
 his enemies by force, but also to win them over by
 gentleness. He would often warn his men not to 21
 punish their prisoners as criminals, but to guard
 them as human beings, and often when shifting
 camp, if he noticed little children, the property of
 merchants, left behind—many merchants offered
 children for sale because they thought they would
 not be able to carry and feed them²—he looked
 after them too, and had them conveyed to some
 place of refuge. Again, he arranged that prisoners 22

¹ Where the goods would be re sold at a profit

² The dealers often failed to find a buyer and consequently abandoned these captured children

πομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις προσέταττεν ἐπιμελείσθαι αὐτῶν, ὥς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μήθ' ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείροιντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οἱ πυρθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἰλισκόμενοι εὐμενεῖς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο. ὅποσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο, ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ὅσα δοῦλοι δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσι, προσέταττεν ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται· καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο.

- 23 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἰππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἰππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὥς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ
- 24 πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε. προεῖπε δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὥς ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἕκαστον προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως μαστεύοι. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἐξ ὧν δέοι τοὺς ἱππέας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἵπποτρόφων πόλεων εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱππικῇ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πράξαι, ὅτι κατεσκευάστω τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἐνεργόν.

- 25 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα εἰς Ἐφεσον· ἀσκῆσαι δὲ¹ αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προῦθηκε καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἣτις κράτιστα ἱππεῖοι, καὶ ταῖς ὀπλιτι-

¹ The MSS. of the *Hellenica* have δ' correctly: the MSS. have καὶ here: δὲ καὶ S.

of war who were too old to accompany the army were to be looked after, that they might not fall a prey to dogs or wolves. It thus came about that he won the goodwill not only of those who heard of these facts, but even of the prisoners themselves. In his settlement with the cities that he won over, he invariably excused them from all servile duties and required only such obedience as freemen owe to their rulers, and by his clemency he made himself master of fortresses impregnable to assault.

However, since a campaign in the plains was impossible even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabazus' cavalry, he decided that he must raise a mounted force, if he was to avoid continually running away from the enemy. He therefore enrolled the wealthiest men in all the cities thereabouts as breeders of horses, and issued a proclamation that anyone who supplied a horse and arms and an efficient man should be exempt from personal service. In this way he brought it about that every one of them carried out these requirements with the zeal of a man in quest of someone to die in his stead. He also specified cities that were to furnish contingents of cavalry, feeling sure that from the horse-breeding cities riders proud of their horsemanship would be forthcoming. This again was considered an admirable stroke on his part, that no sooner had he raised his cavalry than it became a powerful body ready for action.

At the first sign of spring¹ he collected the whole of his forces at Ephesus. With a view to their training he offered prizes for the cavalry squadron that rode best, and for the company of heavy in-

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of strength For all the nations of the empire sent embassies seeking his friendship, and the desire for freedom caused many to revolt to him, so that not Greeks alone, but many barbarians also now acknowledged the leadership of Agesilaus

His conduct at this juncture also merits unstinted 36 admiration Though ruler of countless cities on the mainland, and master of islands—for the state had now added the fleet to his command—becoming daily more famous and more powerful, placed in a position to make what use he would of his many opportunities, and designing and expecting to crown his achievements by dissolving the empire that had attacked Greece in the past he suppressed all thought of these things, and as soon as he received a request from the home government to come to the aid of his fatherland, he obeyed the call of the state, just as though he were standing in the Ephors' palace¹ alone before the Five, thus showing clearly that he would not take the whole earth in exchange for his fatherland, nor new found friends for old, and that he scorned to choose base and secure gains rather than that which was right and honourable, even though it was dangerous

Throughout the time that he remained in his 37 command, another achievement of his showed beyond question how admirable was his skill in kingcraft Having found all the cities that he had gone out to govern rent by faction in consequence of the political disturbances that followed on the collapse of the Athenian empire, he brought it about by the influence of his presence that the communities lived in unbroken harmony and prosperity without recourse to banishment or executions Therefore the 38

λάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρεγόμενοι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ, ὥστε οὐκέτι Ἑλλήνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἡγεμῶν ἦν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

36 Ἀξιόν γε μὴν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅστις ἄρχων μὲν παμπόλλων ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεων, ἄρχων δὲ καὶ νήσων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προσῆψεν αὐτῷ ἡ πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐκλείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει, παρὸν δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἐβούλετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπινοῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων καταλύσειν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσασαν πρότερον ἀρχὴν ὅμως ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐκρατήθη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπείθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν διαφερόντως ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἔτυχεν ἐστηκὼς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε, μάλα ἐνδηλον ποιῶν, ὥς οὔτε ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δέξαιτο ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε τοὺς ἐπικτήτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φίλων οὔτε αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια.

37 Ὅσον γε μὴν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔμεινε, πῶς οὐκ ἀξιεπαίνου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, ὅστις παραλαβὼν πάσας πόλεις, ἐφ' ἃς ἄρξων ἐξέπλευσε, στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθῆναι, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔληξαν, ἐποίησεν ὥστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων, ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν, ὁμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ
38 εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι; τοιγαροῦν οἱ

¹ In the market at Sparta. The Five Ephors sat there daily, and it was in their power to censure the kings.

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ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνες οὐχ ὥς ἄρχοιτος μοίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς πατρὸς καὶ ἐταίρου ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐλυποῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν, ὅτι οὐ πλαστὴν τὴν φιλίαν παρείχοντο. ἐβελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες, ὅτι οὐ χείροσιν ἑαυτῶν δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο.

II. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν ὥνπερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ· καὶ ἦν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτην μείον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὥς ὑστερήσειε 2 τῆς πατρίδος προεθυμείτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο, Λαρισαῖοι μὲν καὶ Κρανώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν οὗτοι ἐφεπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπ' οὐρὰν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυνεν τῆς πορείας αὐτὸν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγουμένου στρα- 3 τεύματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ, νομί- σαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐφείποντο. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησί- λαος ἃ ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάλ' εὐρωστούς ἱππέας καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν

Greeks in Asia mourned his departure as though they were bidding farewell not merely to a ruler, but to a father or a comrade. And at the end they showed that their affection was unfeigned. At any rate they went with him voluntarily to aid Sparta, knowing as they did that they must meet an enemy not inferior to themselves. This then was the end of his activities in Asia.

II. After crossing the Hellespont, he passed through the very same tribes as the Persian king with his mighty host, and the distance that had been traversed by the barbarian in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. For he had no intention of arriving too late to aid his fatherland. When he had passed through Macedonia and reached 2 Thessaly, the people of Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa and Pharsalus, who were allies of the Boeotians, all the Thessalians, in fact, except those who happened to be in exile at the time, followed at his heels and kept molesting him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the cavalry in front and the other half in the rear; but finding his progress hampered by Thessalian attacks on his rearguard, he sent round all the cavalry from the vanguard to the rear, except his own escort. When 3 the two forces faced one another in line of battle, the Thessalians, believing it inexpedient to engage heavy infantry with cavalry, wheeled round and slowly retired, their enemy following very cautiously. Agesilaus, noticing the errors into which both sides were falling, now sent round his own escort of stalwart horsemen, with orders to bid the others to charge at full speed, and to do the same themselves,

κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν.
οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὥς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας,
οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀνα-
στρέφειν πειρώμενοι πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους
4 ἡλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος
ἵππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο,
φυγὴ γίγνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ'
οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ
5 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιον
τε ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου·
καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε μάλα ἠδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι
τοὺς μέγιστον φρονούντας ἐφ' ἵππικῇ ἐνενικήκει
σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἵππικῶ.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς
Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν ἤδη πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας
6 ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
ἀντιτεταγμένους εὐρῶν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους,
Ἀργεῖους, Κορινθίους, Αἰνιᾶνας, Εὐβοέας καὶ
Λοκροὺς ἀμφοτέρους οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν
ἔχων μόραν καὶ ἡμισυ, τῶν δ' αὐτόθεν συμμάχων
Φωκέας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους μόνους τό τ' ἄλλο
7 στράτευμα, ὅπερ ἡγάγετο αὐτός. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο
λέξων ἔρχομαι, ὥς πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττους, πολὺ δὲ
χειρόνας ἔχων ὅμως συνέβαλεν· εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα
λέγοιμι, Ἀγησίλαόν τ' ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἄφρονα
ἀποφαίνειν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μῶρον, εἰ ἐπαινοῖην τὸν
περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰκὴ κινδυνεύοντα· ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον τάδ' αὐτοῦ ἄγαμαι, ὅτι πληθὺς τε οὐδὲν

and not to give the enemy a chance of rallying. As for the Thessalians, on seeing the unexpected charge they either did not rally at all, or were captured in the attempt to do so with their horses broadside to the enemy. Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander 4 of the cavalry, did indeed turn, and fell fighting along with those about him. Hereupon ensued a wild flight, so that some of the enemy were killed and some were taken prisoners. At any rate they never halted until they reached Mt. Nanthacium. On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between 5 Pras and Nanthacium, and here for the moment he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, since he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself created.

On the morrow he crossed the Achaean mountains in Phthia, and now his route led him through friendly country till he reached the borders of Boeotia. Here he found arrayed against him the Thebans, 6 Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aemianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian tribes. Without a moment's delay, in full view of the enemy, he drew up his army for battle. In addition to the army that he had brought with him he had a regiment and a half of Lacedaemonians, and of the local allies only the Phocians and Orchomenians. Now I am not going 7 to say that his forces were far inferior in numbers and in quality, and that nevertheless he accepted battle. That statement, I think, would but show a want of common sense in Agesilaus and my own folly in praising a leader who wantonly jeopardised interests of vital moment. On the contrary—and this is what I do admire him for—he brought into

μείον ἢ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων παρεσκευάσατο ὥπλισέ
 τε οὕτως, ὥς ἅπαντα μὲν χαλκόν, ἅπαντα δὲ
 8 φοινικᾷ φαίνεσθαι· ἐπεμελήθη δ', ὅπως οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται τοὺς πόρους δυνηθοῖεν ὑποφέρειν· ἐνέ-
 πλησε δὲ καὶ φρονήματος τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, ὥς
 ἱκανοὶ εἶεν πρὸς οὐστίνας δέοι μάχεσθαι· ἔτι
 δὲ φιλονικίαν ἐνέβαλε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς μετ'
 αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἄριστοι φαίνονται.
 ἐλπίδων γε μὴν πάντας ἐνέπλησεν, ὥς πᾶσι
 πολλὰ καὶ γαθὰ ἔσοιτο, εἰ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνοιτο,
 νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπους προθυμό-
 τατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ
 ἐψεύσθη.

9 Διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο
 οἷα περ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνήεσαν μὲν
 γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδῖον οἱ μὲν σὺν
 Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς
 Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος. ἐώρων δὲ τὰς τε
 φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσομάχους, σχεδὸν δὲ
 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἑκατέρων ἰσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε
 δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,
 Ὀρχομένιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.
 οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι
 10 δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. συνιόντων δὲ τέως
 μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· ἡνίκα δὲ
 ἀπέειχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ
 Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὥς δὲ τριῶν
 ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἑριππίδας ἐξε-
 11 νάγει (ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ
 συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές) καὶ
 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἐχόμενοι.

the field an army not a whit inferior to the enemy's, he so armed it that it looked one solid mass of bronze and scarlet, he took care to render his men 8 capable of meeting all calls on their endurance, he filled their hearts with confidence that they were able to withstand any and every enemy, he inspired them all with an eager determination to out do one another in valour, and lastly he filled all with anticipation that many good things would befall them, if only they proved good men. For he believed that men so prepared fight with all their might, nor in point of fact did he deceive himself.

I will describe the battle, for there has been none 9 like it in our time. The two armies met in the plain of Coronæ, Agesilaus advancing from the Cephissus, the Thebans and their allies from Helicon. Their eyes told them that the opposing lines of battle were exactly matched in strength, and the number of cavalry on both sides was about the same. Agesilaus was on the right wing of his army and had the Orchomenians on his extreme left. On the other side the Thebans themselves were on the right wing and the Argives held the left. As they 10 approached both sides for a time maintained complete silence, but when they were about a furlong apart, the Thebans raised the battle cry and rushed forward at the double. The distance between them was still about one hundred yards when the mercenary troops under Herippidas, consisting of the 11 men who had gone with Agesilaus from home and some of the Cyrenians, dashed out in turn from their main body, closely followed by Ionians, Aeolians and

¹ The parenthesis is due to Lippelt. S, with the MSS, has a full stop after ἐξεδύετο and no break after τινές.

καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ὑφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς ἄμφ' Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ, ὅτι Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόνσαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰσὶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθύς ἐξελίσξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπείπειν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρου ἐρρωμένως.

- 12 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι εἴλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα· ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐπομένῳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὀπισθεν οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθούντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρήν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγὴ, φωνὴ δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτη, οἷαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον.

- 13 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἔπε-

Hellespontines All these took part in the dash, and coming within spear-thrust put to flight the force in front of them As for the Argives, they fled towards Helicon without awaiting the attack of Agesilaus And now some of the mercenaries were in the act of crowning Agesilaus with a wreath, when a man reported to him that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were among the baggage train So he immediately wheeled his main body and advanced against them, and the Thebans in their turn, seeing that their allies had sought refuge at the foot of Mt Helicon, and wanting to break through and join their friends, made a strong move forward

At this juncture one may say without fear of 12 contradiction that Agesilaus showed courage, but the course that he adopted was not the safest For he might have allowed the men who were trying to break through to pass, and then have followed them and annihilated those in the rear Instead of doing that he made a furious frontal attack on the Thebans Thrusting shield against shield, they shoved and fought and killed and fell There was no shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce In the end some of the Thebans broke through and reached Helicon, but many fell during the retreat

The victory lay with Agesilaus, but he himself 13 had been carried wounded to his battle line, when some horsemen rode up, and told him that eighty of the enemy retaining their arms had taken cover in the temple, and they asked what they should do Though wounded in every part of his body with every sort of weapon, he did not

λάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' εἴη τε ἀπίεσαι ὅποι
βούλωντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα καὶ προ-
πέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς, ἔσται ἐν
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγείνοιτο.

- 14 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεά-
σασθαι, εἴθαι συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοισι, τὴν μὲν γῆν
αἵματι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φίλους
καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατε-
θρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια
γυμνὰ κολεῶν, τὰ μὲν χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώματι,¹
15 τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χειρᾶς. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν
ἤδη ὁψέ, συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων
νεκροὺς εἰσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποιήσαιο καὶ
ἐκοιμήθησαν· πρῶτ' δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον
παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρό-
παιον ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ
θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν.

- 16 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς
αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτως δὴ αἶ τε σπονδαὶ
γίγνονται καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οἵκαδε ἀπεχώρει,
ἐλόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
οἵκοι τὰ νόμιμα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόμιμα δὲ
ἄρχεσθαι.

- 17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατανοήσας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους τὰ
μὲν οἵκοι καρπουμένους, Κόρινθον δὲ προσειλη-
φότας, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ στρατεύει ἐπ'
αὐτούς· καὶ δηρώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν

¹ σώματι MSS. : σώμασι S.

forget his duty towards the gods, but gave orders that these men should be suffered to go whithersoever they wished, and would not suffer them to be harmed, and charged his escort of cavalry to conduct them to a place of safety.

Now that the fighting was at an end, a weird 14 spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict—the earth stained with blood, friend and foe lying dead side by side, shields smashed to pieces, spears snapped in two, daggers bared of their sheaths, some on the ground, some embedded in the bodies, some yet gripped by the hand Then, 15 as the day was far spent, having dragged the enemy's dead¹ within their battle line, they supped and slept Early next morning Agesilaus ordered Gylis, the polemarch, to draw up the army in battle order and to set up a trophy, and to command every man to wear a wreath in honour of the god² and all the flute players to play.

Now while they were carrying out these orders the 16 Thebans sent a herald, asking leave to bury their dead under protection of a truce And so a truce was made, and Agesilaus left for home, choosing, instead of supreme power in Asia, to rule and to be ruled at home according to the constitution.

Some time afterwards, finding that the Argives 17 were enjoying the fruits of their land, that they had appropriated Corinth and were finding the war a pleasant occupation, he made an expedition against them. He first laid waste all their territory, then

¹ In order that the Thebans might not recover them But some think τῶν πολεμίων corrupt

² Apollo.

εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς
Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον τείνοντα τείχη
καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας
οὕτως οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ῥακύνθια, ὅπου
ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ, τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ
συνεπετέλει.

- 18 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους
πάντα μὲν τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ σωζομένους,
πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον σπείροντας καὶ καρπουμένους,
μέγιστον δὲ ἡγησάμενος, ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ
Κρεύσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις
παρεγίγνοντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πείραιον. ἰδὼν
δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ὥς ἐνδιδομένης
τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ἀρίστου μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο
19 πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ· αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοη-
θηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραίου εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασ-
συδία, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰρεῖ τὸ
Πείραιον ἔρημον εὐρὼν φυλακῆς καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα
τὰ ἐνόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἃ ἐνετετεί-
χιστο ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε.
20 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προθύμων ὄντων τῶν Ῥακίων
εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ δεομένων συστρατεύειν
αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν . . .¹ καὶ ἐπιθεμένων ἐν
στενοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καταλαβὼν τοῖς ψιλοῖς
τὰ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει καὶ

¹ There is no indication of a gap in S

¹ The MSS of *Hellenica*, IV iv 19 give κατὰ Τεγίαν in the corresponding passage, this is corrected to κατὰ Τενίαν "by way of Tenaea," which is probably the right reading here

crossed to Corinth by the pass¹ and captured the walls leading to Lechaëum. Having thus unbarred the gates of Peloponnese, he returned home for the festival of Hyacinthus² and joined in singing the pæan in honour of the god,³ taking the place assigned to him by the choirmaster.

After a time, discovering that the Corinthians 18 were keeping all their cattle safe in Peiræum, and sowing and reaping the crops throughout that district, and—what he thought most serious—that the Boeotians were finding this route convenient for sending support to the Corinthians, with Creusis as their base, he marched against Peiræum. Seeing that it was strongly guarded, he moved his camp after the morning meal to a position before the capital, as though the city was about to surrender. But becoming aware that supports had been hurriedly 19 poured into the city during the night from Peiræum, he turned about at daybreak and captured Penæum, finding it undefended, and everything in it, along with the fortresses that stood there, fell into his hands. Having done this, he returned home.

After these events, the Achæans, who were zealous 20 advocates of the alliance, begged him to join them in an expedition against Acarnania.⁴ And when the Acarnanians attacked him in a mountain pass he seized the heights above their heads with his light infantry,⁵ fought an engagement and, after inflicting

¹ Celebrated annually at Amyclæ, early in the summer.

² Apollo, who had accidentally killed Hyacinthus.

⁴ Something seems to be lost here, probably a passage that ended with the words *συστρατεύει αυτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν*.

⁵ The words *τοῖς ψιλοῖς* are probably a correction by X.; he says the heights were taken by the heavy infantry in *Hellenica*, IV. vi. 11.

πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας αὐτῶν τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε, πρὶν Ἀχαιοῖς μὲν φίλους ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους.

21 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέμοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Ἀγησίλαος ἀντεῖπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἕως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἠνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἰκαδε καταδέξασθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὖ καὶ Φλειασίων τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας κατήγαγεν, αὐτὸς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Φλειούντα. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη πῃ ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὖν φιλεταιρία γε
22 πραχθέντα φανερά ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐν Θήβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκανον οἱ ἐναντίοι, βοηθῶν αὖ τούτοις στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας. εὐρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἅπαντα, ὑπερβὰς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδήιον τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεος, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλονται. ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔπει πάλιν ἐπὶ Θήβας· καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὰ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταυρώματα καὶ τάφρους ἐδήλωσε τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας.

23 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῇ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ πόλις εὐτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ὥς Ἀγησιλάου ἡγουμένου ἐπράχθη. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Δεύκτροις συμφορᾶς γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων ἤδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκά-

severe losses on them, set up a trophy; nor did he cease until he had induced the Acarnanians, Aetolians and Argives to enter into friendship with the Achaeans and alliance with himself

When the enemy sent embassies desiring peace, 21 Agesilaus opposed the peace until he forced Corinth and Thebes to restore to their homes the citizens who had been exiled on account of their sympathy with the Lacedaemonians. And again later, having led an expedition in person against Phleius, he also restored the Phleisian exiles who had suffered in the same cause. Possibly some may censure these actions on other grounds, but at least it is obvious that they were prompted by a spirit of true comradeship. It was in the same spirit that he subsequently 22 made an expedition against Thebes, to relieve the Lacedaemonians in that city when their opponents had taken to murdering them. Finding the city protected on all sides by a trench and stockade, he crossed the Pass of Cynoscephalae, and laid waste the country up to the city walls, offering battle to the Thebans both on the plain and on the hills, if they chose to fight. In the following year he made another expedition against Thebes, and, after crossing the stockade and trenches at Scolus, laid waste the rest of Boeotia.

Up to this time he and his city enjoyed unbroken 23 success, and though the following years brought a series of troubles, it cannot be said that they were incurred under the leadership of Agesilaus. On the other hand, after the disaster at Leuctra, when his adversaries in league with the Mantineans were murdering his friends and acquaintances in Tegea, and a coalition of all Boeotia, Arcadia and Elis

δων καὶ Ἡλείων, στρατεύει σὺν μόνη τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ δυνάμει, πολλῶν νομιζόντων οὐδ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν. δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν κατακανόντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὐτῷ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν.

24 Ἀπό γε μὴν τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα στρατευσαμένων Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνείων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Εὐβοέων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῶν δούλων, πολλῶν δὲ περι-οικίδων πόλεων, καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μειόνων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων, ὅμως διεφύλαξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, ὅπου μὲν ἐν παντὶ πλεόν ἂν εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐκ ἐξάγων ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου δὲ οἱ πολῖται πλεόν ἔξειν ἔμελλον, εὐρώστως παρα-τεταγμένος, νομίζων εἰς μὲν τὸ πλατὺ ἐξίων πάν-τοθεν ἂν περιέχεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ ὑπερδεξίοις τόποις ὑπομένων τῷ παντὶ κρατεῖν ἂν

25 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα, πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ; ὥς γὰρ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ἀπείργεν ἤδη τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων δὲ ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἔξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν ἔταξε καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οἴκοι μένων ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἃ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν οὐκ ὤκνει μετιέναι οὐδ' ἡσχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὠφελήσειν,

had been formed, he took the field with the Lacedaemonian forces only, thus disappointing the general expectation that the Lacedaemonians would not even go outside their own borders for a long time to come. It was not until he had laid waste the country of those who had murdered his friends that he returned home once more.

After this Sparta was attacked by all the Arcadians, 24 Argives, Eleians and Boeotians, who had the support of the Phocians, both the Locrian peoples, the Thessalians, Aenianians, Acarnanians and Euboeans. In addition the slaves and many of the outlander communities were in revolt, and at least as many of the Spartan nobles had fallen in the battle of Leuctra as survived. He kept the city safe notwithstanding, and that though it was without walls, not going out into the open where the advantage would have lain wholly with the enemy, and keeping his army strongly posted where the citizens would have the advantage, for he believed that he would be surrounded on all sides if he came out into the plain, but that if he made a stand in the defiles and the heights, he would be master of the situation.

After the retirement of the enemy, none will deny 25 that his conduct was marked by good sense. The marching and riding incidental to active service were no longer possible to a man of his years, but he saw that the state must have money if she was to gain an ally anywhere. So he applied himself to the business of raising money. At home he did all that ingenuity could suggest, and, if he saw any prospect of serving the state abroad, shrank from no measures that circumstances called for, and he was not ashamed to go out, not as a general, but as an

- 26 τρεσβεΐης ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀντὶ στρατηγῶν ὅμως
 δὲ καὶ εἰ τῇ τρεσβεΐᾳ μεγάλοι στρατηγοῦ ἔργα
 διεκρίξατο. Ἰσοφράδα τῆς γὰρ πολιορκῶν
 εἰ ἴσων Ἀριοβαρζάνην σίμαλον οἶα δέισαι
 Ἀγησίλοιο δειγὰ ἄλλο. Κόιν δ' αὖ Σησὸν
 πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνιον εἰ οἶσαν λίσας καὶ
 οὗτος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ὥσ' οὐκ ἂν
 ἀλόγων καὶ ἀπο τῆς τρεσβεΐας πρόαιον τῶν
 πολεμίων ἐσθῆκει αὐτῷ. Μαίσιωλος γέ μιν κατὰ
 θαλάσσι ἐκατοὶ τοῖς πολιορκῶν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ
 χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δέισας, ἀλλὰ εἰσθεὶς ἀέ
 27 λενσει οἴκαδε καὶ αὐτὰ οὐκ ἄξια θαύματος
 διεκρίξατο. οἳ γὰρ εὖ ἐκονθείη νομίζοντες
 ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα
 ἀμφοτέροι ἐδοῦσαν. Ταχὺς γέ μιν καὶ Μανσώλος,
 διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησίλαου ξενίαι συμβαλο-
 μενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι
 ἀπέμψαι αὐτὸν οἴκαδε τροπομτὴν δόντες
 μεγαλοτρεπῇ
 28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἤδη μὲν ἔτη ἐγγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ
 ὀγδοήκοιτα κατανενοηκῶς δὲ τον Αἰγυπτίω
 βασιλέα ἐτιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν καὶ
 πολλοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς, πολλοὺς ππέας, πολλὰ
 δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα ἄσμενο ὅτι μετε
 πέμπετο ὅν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπισχνού
 29 μενος γὰρ τῇ Αἰγυπ- τῷ μὲν
 Αἰγυπ- ἀποδώσειν γατηκει
 τὴν ἰ τοὺς δ' ἐν
 τάλιν τῷ δε Π
 καὶ τῷ αὖ ὅτι
 30 φάσκων σήνην
 ὁ μετα ἀτεδι



envoy. And even as an envoy he accomplished 26
 work worthy of a great general For instance,
 Autophradates laying siege to Ariobarzanes, an ally
 of Sparta, at Assos, took to his heels from fear of
 Agesilaus Cotys for his part, besieging Sestos, while
 it was still in the hands of Ariobarzanes, broke up the
 siege and made off With good reason, therefore,
 might the victorious envoy have set up a trophy once
 again to record these bloodless successes Again, 27
 Mausolus, laying siege to both these places with a
 fleet of a hundred vessels, was induced, not indeed
 by fear, but by persuasion, to sail for home. In this
 affair too his success was admirable; for those who
 considered that they were under an obligation to him
 and those who fled before him, both paid Yet again,
 Tachos and Mausolus (another of those who con-
 tributed money to Sparta, owing to his old ties of
 hospitality with Agesilaus), sent him home with a
 magnificent escort

Subsequently, when he was now about eighty 28
 years of age, he became aware that the king of
 Egypt was bent on war with Persia, and was possessed
 of large forces of infantry and cavalry and plenty
 of money He was delighted when a summons
 for help reached him from the Egyptian king, who
 actually promised him the chief command For he 29
 believed that at one stroke he would repay the
 Egyptian for his good offices to Sparta, would again
 set free the Greeks in Asia, and would chastise the
 Persian for his former hostility, and for demanding
 now, when he professed to be an ally of Sparta, that
 her claim to Messene should be given up However, 30
 when this suitor for his assistance failed to give him

- 26 πρεσβευτῆς ἐκπορευομενος ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ. ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν Ἀσσω Ἀριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχον ὄντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων ὥχετο. Κότυς δ' αὖ Σηστόν πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔτι οὔσαν λύσας καὶ οὗτος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῶν πολεμίων ἐστήκει αὐτῷ. Μαύσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ πολιορκῶν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δείσας, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέ-
- 27 πλευσεν οἴκαδε. κἀνταῦθα οὖν ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατο· οἳ τε γὰρ εὖ πεπονθέναι νομίζοντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα ἀμφοτέροι ἐδοσαν. Ταχὺς γε μὴν καὶ Μαύσωλος, διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησιλάου ξενίαν συμβαλόμενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὸν οἴκαδε προπομπὴν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῇ.
- 28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἤδη μὲν ἔτη ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα· κατανενοηκῶς δὲ τὸν Αἴγυπτίῳ βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα ἄσμενος ἤκουσεν, ὅτι μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμονίαν ὑπισχνόμενος.
- 29 ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὁρμῇ τῷ μὲν Αἴγυπτίῳ χάριν ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργετήκει τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνας ἄλλιν ἐλευθερώσειν, τῷ δὲ Πέρσῃ δίκην ἐτιθήσειν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν καὶ ὅτι νῦν σύμμαχος εἶναι
- 30 φάσκων ἐτέταττε Μεσσήνην ἀφιεῖναι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ μετα-εμψύμενος οὐκ ἀ-εἰδίδου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

the command Agesilaus felt that he had been grossly deceived, and was in doubt what he ought to do. At this juncture first a portion of the Egyptian troops, operating as a separate army, revolted from the king, and then the rest of his forces deserted him. The king left Egypt and fled in terror to Sidon in Phœnicia, while the Egyptians split up into two parties, and each chose its own king. Agesilaus now realised that if 31 he helped neither king, neither of them would pay the Greeks their wages, neither would provide a market, and the conqueror, whichever he proved to be, would be hostile, but if he co-operated with one of them, that one, being under an obligation to him, would in all probability adopt a friendly attitude. Accordingly, having decided which of them showed the stronger signs of being a friend to the Greeks, he took the field with him. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy of the Greeks, and helped to establish his rival, and so having made him the friend of Sparta, and having received a great sum of money in addition, he sailed home, though it was mid winter, with all haste, in order that the state might be in a position to take action against her enemies in the coming summer.

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 χειροῦται, τὸν δ' ἕτερον συγκαθίστησι καὶ φίλον
 ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ
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 εἰς τὸ ἐπιδὼν θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.

III. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου
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 δηλοῦν, δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν
 καλῶν ἦρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχυρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν.

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B.C.

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 98

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ἐκείνου σπονδὰς πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν
 φιλίαν· οἱ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν ὤκνου
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἵεναι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγχείριζον.
 ὥπως δὲ μὴ τις ἀπιστῇ, καὶ ὀνομάσαι βούλομαι
 3 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν. Σπιθριδάτης μὲν
 γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης εἰδώς, ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν
 τὴν βασιλέως ἔπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ
 ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας
 τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ
 4 τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε. Κότυς δὲ
 ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ
 ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβούμενος, μὴ
 ληφθεὶς ἢ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτίσειεν ἢ καὶ
 ἀποθάνοι, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς σπονδαῖς
 πιστεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἦλθε καὶ συμ-
 μαχίαν ποιησάμενος εἴλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρα-
 τεύεσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἵππείας, δισχιλίους δὲ
 5 πελτοφόρους ἔχων. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος
 Ἀγησιλάῳ εἰς λόγους καὶ διωμοδόγησεν, εἰ μὴ
 αὐτὸς πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς στρατηγὸς καταστα-
 θεῖη, ἀποστήσεσθαι βασιλέως· ἦν μέντοι ἐγὼ
 γένωμαι στρατηγός, ἔφη, πολεμήσω σοι, ὦ
 Ἀγησίλαε, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι κράτιστα. καὶ
 ταῦτα λέγων ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παράσπονδον
 παθεῖν. οὕτω μέγα καὶ καλὸν κτῆμα τοῖς τε
 ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῷ τὸ ὄσιόν
 τε καὶ πιστὸν εἶναι τε καὶ ὄντα ἐγνώσθαι. καὶ
 περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.

¹ The text here is quite uncertain; there is a gap in the manuscripts after φιλίαν.

treaties more to be relied on than their own friendship with one another: for there were times when they shrank from meeting together,¹ and yet would place themselves in the power of Agesilaus. And lest anyone should think this statement incredible, I wish to name the most famous among them. Spithridates the Persian, for example, knew that 3 Pharnabazus was negotiating for a marriage with the Great King's daughter, and intended to take his, Spithridates', daughter as a concubine. Regarding this as an outrage, he delivered himself, his wife, his children and all that he had into Agesilaus' hands. Ceteris regibus Persarum, qui in eadem urbe disobeyed 4 Agesilaus, Pharnabazus was accomplished in all things, but he feared that he would be seized and either be fined heavily or even put to death; but he too, trusting in the armistice with Agesilaus, came to his camp and having entered into alliance elected to take the field at Agesilaus' side with a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers. And Pharnabazus too came 5 and parleyed with Agesilaus, and made agreement with him that if he were not himself appointed the Persian general, he would revolt from the Great King. "But," he said, "if I become general, I shall make war on you, Agesilaus, with all my might." He used this language in full confidence that nothing contrary to the terms of the armistice would happen to him. So great and so noble a treasure has every man, and above all a general, who is upright and trustworthy and is known to be so. So much, then, for the virtue of Piety.

¹ The "right hand," often mentioned as a pledge of good faith or friendship.

IV. Περὶ γε μὴν τῆς εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης ποῖα ἂν τις μείζω τεκμήρια ἔχοι τῶνδε; ὑπὸ γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου στέρεσθαι μὲν οὐδείς οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐνεκαίλεσεν, εὖ δὲ πεπονθέναι πολλοὶ πολλὰ ὠμολόγουν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἡδὺ τὰ αὐτοῦ διδόναι ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἂν οὗτος ἐθέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ' ᾧ κακόδοξος εἶναι; εἰ γὰρ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμοίῃ, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον τὰ αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα λαμβάνειν.² ὅς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἐθέλοι, ὧν οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόντα, πῶς ἂν γε καὶ νόμος κωλύει ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀποστερεῖν; Ἀγησίλαος δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας ἄδικον ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν³ μείζω δυνάμενον. τά γε μὴν τῆς πόλεως κλέπτειν πῇ ἂν τις αὐτὸν εἰκότως αἰτιάσαιτο, ὅς καὶ τὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας ὀφειλομένας τῇ πατρίδι καρποῦσθαι παρεδίδου; τὸ δ' ὅποτε βούλοιτο εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἢ φίλους χρήμασι, δύνασθαι παρ' ἐτέρων λαμβάνοντα ὠφελεῖν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμήριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων; εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς⁴ χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει, οὐδείς ἂν οὐδὲν ὀφείλῃεν αὐτῷ ἐνόμισεν· ἀλλ' οἱ προῖκα εὖ πεπονθότες, οὗτοι ἀεὶ ἡδέως ὑπηρετοῦσι τῷ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ διότι εὖ ἔπαθον καὶ διότι προσεπιστεύθησαν ἄξιοι εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάριτος φυλάττειν.⁵ Ὅστις δ' ἡρεῖτο καὶ σὺν τῷ γενναίῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἢ σὺν τῷ ἀδίκῳ πλεόν ἔχειν, πῶς οὗτος οὐκ ἂν

¹ *Symposium*, viii. 36.

IV. Next comes his Justice in money matters Of this what proofs can be more convincing than the following? No man ever made any complaint that he had been defrauded by Agesilaus but many acknowledged that they had received many benefits from him One who delighted to give away his own for the good of others could not possibly be minded to defraud others at the price of disgrace For if he had coveted money it would have cost him far less trouble to keep his own than to take what did not belong to him A man who would not leave unpaid 2 debts of gratitude, which are not recoverable in the courts, cannot have been minded to commit thefts that are forbidden by law And Agesilaus held it wrong not only to repudiate a debt of gratitude, but, having greater means, not to render in return a much greater kindness Again, with what show of 3 reason could embezzlement of public property be charged against a man who bestowed on his fatherland the rewards due to himself? And is it not a striking proof of his freedom from avarice that he was able to get money from others, whenever he wanted, for the purpose of rendering financial assistance to the state or his friends? For had he been 4 in the habit of selling his favours or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt that he owed him anything It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgment of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of a favour¹

Further, is it not certain that the man who by a 5 noble instinct refused to take more and preferred to take less than his just share was far beyond the reach

πολυ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι; ἐκεῖνος
τοῖνυν κριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντα ἔχειν τὰ
Ἄγιδος τὰ ἡμίσεα τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῷ ὁμογύ-
νοις μετέδωκεν, ὅτι πενομένους αὐτοὺς ἔωρα. ὥς
δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, πᾶσα μάρτυς ἡ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων πόλις. διδόντος δ' αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δῶρα
Τιθραύστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· ὦ Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ'
ἡμῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι τὴν στρατιάν ἢ
ἐαυτὸν πλουτίζειν καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα
μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

V. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅσαι γε ἡδοναὶ πολλῶν
κρατοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων, ποίας οὐδέ τις Ἀγησίλαον
ἠττηθέντα; ὃς μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως
ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καιρὸν
ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας. διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων
ἐν ταῖς θοίαις οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο,
ἀλλὰ διαπέμπων οὐδετέραν αὐτῷ κατέλειπε,
νομίζων βασιλεῖ τοῦτο διπλασιασθῆναι οὐχὶ
πλησμονῆς ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχοι καὶ τούτῳ
τιμᾶν εἴ τινα βούλοιτο. οὐ μὴν ὕπνω γε δεσπότῃ,
ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐχρήτο καὶ
εὐνὴν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν συνόντων φανλοτάτην ἔχοι,
αἰδούμενος οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἄρχοντι
προσῆκειν οὐ μαλακίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καρτερίᾳ τῶν ἰδιω-
τῶν περιεῖναι.

3 Τάδε μέντοι πλεονεκτῶν οὐκ ἡσχύνετο, ἐν μὲν
τῷ θέρει τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦ ψύχους·
καὶ μὴν εἴ ποτε μοχθῆσαι στρατιᾷ συμβαίη,

¹ μανίας and ἀργίας are adopted from the text of Athenaeus, who refers to this passage (p. 613 c). The MSS. of the

of covetousness? Now when the state pronounced him sole heir to the property of Agis, he gave half of it to his mother's kinsfolk, because he saw that they were in want, and all Lacedaemon bears witness that my statement is true. On receiving from 6 Tithraustes an offer of gifts unnumbered if only he would leave his country, Agesilaus answered "Among us, Tithraustes, a ruler's honour requires him to enrich his army rather than himself, and to take spoils rather than gifts from the enemy."

V Agesilaus among "the plain" for that was a too

be avoided like madness, overeating like idleness¹ Moreover, he received a double ration at the public meals, but instead of consuming both portions himself, he distributed both and left neither for himself, holding that the purpose of this double allowance to the king was not to provide him with a heavy meal, but to give him the opportunity of honouring whomsoever he would. As for sleep,² it was not his master, 2 but the servant of his activities, and unless he occupied the humblest bed among his comrades, he could not conceal his shame for he thought that a ruler's superiority over ordinary men should be shown not by weakness but by endurance.

There were things, to be sure, of which he was 3 not ashamed to take more than his share—for instance, the summer's heat and the winter's cold³ and whenever his army was faced with a hard task,

Agesilaus have λαίμαργος, "gluttony," and ἀμαρτία, "error."

¹ La. Pol., iv 4, Οἰκονομία, viii. ii. 4.

² Οἰκονομία, i. iv 25.

ἐκὼν ἐπόνει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, νομίζων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν εἶναι τοῖς στρατιώταις. ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἶπεῖν, Ἀγησίλαος πονῶν μὲν ἠγάλλετο, ῥαστώνην δὲ πάμπαν οὐ προσίετο.

4 Περὶ γε μὴν ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατείας αὐτοῦ ἄρ' οὐχὶ εἰ μὴ του ἄλλου ἀλλὰ θαύματος ἔνεκα ἄξιον μνησθῆναι; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὦν μὴ ἐπεθύμησεν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀνθρώπινον ἂν τις φαίη εἶναι· τὸ δὲ Μεγαβάτου τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἐρασθέντα, ὥσπερ ἂν τοῦ καλλίστου ἢ σφοδροτάτη φύσις ἐρασθείη, ἔπειτα ἡνίκα, ἐπιχωρίου ὄντος τοῖς Πέρσαις φιλεῖν οὓς ἂν τιμῶσιν, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ὁ Μεγαβάτης φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, διαμάχεσθαι ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ μὴ φιληθῆναι, ἄρ' οὐ τοῦτό γε ἤδη τὸ σωφρόνημα καὶ λίαν γεννικόν;

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀτιμασθῆναι νομίσας ὁ Μεγαβάτης τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι φιλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, προσφέρει τινὶ λόγον τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πείθειν τὸν Μεγαβάτην πάλιν τιμᾶν ἑαυτόν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου, ἣν πεισθῇ ὁ Μεγαβάτης, εἰ φιλήσει, ἐνταῦθα διασιωπήσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἶπεν· Οὐ τὼ σιῶ, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλοιμί γε αὐτίκα μάλα κάλλιστός τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατος καὶ τάχιστος ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθαι· μάχεσθαί γε μέντοι πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην ὁμνυμι πάντας θεοὺς ἢ μὴν μᾶλλον βούλεσθαι ἢ πάντα μοι ὅσα ὀρῶ χρυσᾶ

6 γενέσθαι. καὶ ὅ τι μὲν δὴ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν τινες ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ· ἐγὼ μέντοι δοκῶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι πολὺ πλείονες τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν τοιούτων δύνανται κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγων εἰδότες πολλοῖς ἔξεστιν ἀπιστεῖν· τὰ δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ἡκιστα μὲν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι

he toiled willingly beyond all others, believing that all such actions were an encouragement to the men. Not to labour the point, Agesilaus gloried in hard work, and showed a strong distaste for indolence.

His habitual control of his affections surely deserves 4 a tribute of admiration, if worthy of mention on no other ground. That he should keep at arms' length those whose intimacy he did not desire may be thought only human. But he loved Megabates, the handsome son of Spithridates, with all the intensity of an ardent nature. Now it is the custom¹ among the Persians to bestow a kiss on those whom they honour. Yet when Megabates attempted to kiss him, Agesilaus resisted his advances with all his might—an act of punctilious moderation surely! Megabates, feeling himself slighted, tried no more 5 to kiss him, and Agesilaus approached one of his companions with a request that he would persuade Megabates to show him honour once again. "Will you kiss him," asked his companion, "if Megabates yields?" After a deep silence, Agesilaus gave his reply. "By the twin gods, no, not if I were straight-way to be the fairest and strongest and fleetest man on earth! By all the gods I swear that I would rather fight that same battle over again than that everything I see should turn into gold." What 6 opinion some hold in regard to these matters I know well enough, but for my part I am persuaded that many more men can gain the mastery over their enemies than over impulses such as these.² No doubt when these things are known to few, many have a right to be sceptical: but we all know this, that the

¹ *Cyropædia*, I. iv. 27.

² *Anabasis*, II. vi. 28

τῶν ἀνθρώπων λανθάνουσιν ὃ τι ἂν ποιῶσιν.
 Ἀγησίλαοι δέ τι πράξαιτα μὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε
 ἰδὼν πώποτε οὐδεὶς ἀνήγγειλεν οὔτε εἰκάζων
 7 πιστὰ ἂν ἔδοξε λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰς οἰκίαν μὲν
 οὐδεμίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ κατήγετο, αἰὶ δέ ἢ
 ἢ ἐν ἱερῷ, ἐνθα δὴ ἀδύνατον τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν,
 ἢ ἐν φανερῷ, μάρτυρας τοὺς πάντων ὀφθαλμοὺς
 τῆς σωφροσύνης ποιοῦμενος. εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα
 ψεύδομαι ἀντία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισταμένης, ἐκείνους
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαινῶ, ἑμαυτὸν δὲ ψέγω.

VI. Ἀνδρείας γε μὴν οὐκ ἀφανῆ τεκμήριά μοι
 δοκεῖ παρασχέσθαι ὑφιστάμενος μὲν αἰὲ πολεμεῖν
 πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τε πόλει
 καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τούτους ἀγῶσι
 2 πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν τάττων. ἐνθα γε μὴν ἠθέλησαν
 αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμοι μάχην συνάψαι, οὐ φόβῳ
 τρεψάμενος νίκης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχῃ ἀντιτύπῳ
 κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μὲν τῆς
 ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλιπὼν, σαφῆ δὲ καὶ
 αὐτὸς σημεῖα ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῦ θυμῷ μάχεσθαι.
 ὥστ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας, ἀλλ' ὁρῶντας ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ
 3 τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν. τρόπαια μὲν Ἀγησιλάου
 οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιαν
 νομίζειν. μείον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκράτει, ὅτε
 οὐκ ἠθελον αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμοι μάχεσθαι, ἀκινδυνότερον
 δὲ καὶ συμφωρότερον τῇ τε πόλει καὶ
 τοῖς συμμάχοις. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν
 ἡττον τοὺς ἀκονιτὲς ἢ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας
 στεφανοῦσι.

¹ *Memorabilia*, i. i. 11.

² The reference is not general, but definitely to the battle of Coronea; see c. 11, § 11-13.

greater a man's fame, the fiercer is the light that beats on all his actions,¹ we know too that no one ever reported that he had seen Agesilaus do any such thing, and that no scandal based on conjecture would have gained credence, for it was not his habit, when abroad, to lodge apart in a private house, but he was always either in a temple, where conduct of this sort is, of course, impossible, or else in a public place where all men's eyes became witnesses of his rectitude. If I speak thus falsely against the knowledge of the Greek world, I am in no way praising my hero, but I am censuring myself.

VI As for Courage, he seems to me to have afforded clear proofs of that by always engaging himself to fight against the strongest enemies of his state and of Greece, and by always placing himself in the forefront of the struggle. When the enemy were willing to join battle with him,² it was not by their panic flight that he won victory, but it was after overcoming them in stubborn fighting that he set up a trophy, leaving behind him imperishable memorials of his own valour, and bearing in his own body visible tokens of the fury of his fighting, so that not by hearsay but by the evidence of their own eyes men could judge what manner of man he was. In truth the trophies of Agesilaus are not to be counted by telling how many he set up, the number of his campaigns is the number of them. His mastery was in no way less complete when the enemy were unwilling to accept battle, but it was gained at less risk and with more profit to the state and to the allies. So in the Great Games the unchallenged champion is crowned no less than he who has fought to conquer.

Of his Wisdom I find the evidence in every 4
 one of his deeds Towards his fatherland he
 behaved in such a manner that, being entirely
 obedient to her, he won the obedience of the
 citizens, and by his zeal for his comrades he
 held the unquestioning devotion of his friends and
 as for his troops, he gained at once their obedience
 and their affection Surely nothing is wanting to
 the strength of that battle line in which obedience
 results in perfect discipline, and affection for the
 general produces faithful promptitude As for the 5
 enemy, though they were forced to hate, he gave
 them no chance to disparage him For he contrived
 that his allies always had the better of them, by
 the use of deception when occasion offered, by
 anticipating their action if speed was necessary,
 by hiding when it suited his purpose, and by
 practising all the opposite methods when dealing with
 enemies to those which he applied when dealing with
 friends Night, for example, was to him as day, and 6
 day as night,¹ for he often veiled his movements so
 completely that none could guess where he was,
 whither he was going, or what he meant to do
 Thus he made even strong positions untenable to the
 enemy, turning one, scaling another, snatching a
 third by stealth On the march, whenever he knew 7
 that the enemy could bring him to an engagement if
 they chose, he would lead his army in close order,
 alert and ready to defend himself, moving on as
 quietly as a modest maiden, since he held that this
 was the best means of maintaining calm, of avoiding
 panic, confusion, and blundering, and of guarding
 against a surprise attack.

¹ *Hell. caica*, VI. i. 15, *Laë. Pol.*, v. 7, *Cyrus*, i. 1. v. 12.

8 Τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις
δεινὸς ἦν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις θάρρος καὶ ῥώμην
ἐνεποίει. ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀζήμιος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν,
ἀμεμπτος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος δὲ
καὶ πολυεπαινετώτατος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

VII. Ὡς γε μὴν φιλόπολις ἦν, καθ' ἑν μὲν
ἕκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν· οἶομαι γὰρ
οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, ὃ τι οὐκ εἰς
τοῦτο συντείνει. ὥς δ' ἐν βραχεὶ εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες
ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι Ἀγησίλαος ὅπου ᾤετο τὴν πα-
τρίδα τι ὠφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο, οὐ κινδύνων
ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα, οὐ
γῆρας προῦφασίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ
τοῦτο ἔργον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὥς
2 πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν. ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ
ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τότε ἐγὼ τίθημι
αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δυνατώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς
ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. τίς γὰρ ἂν
ἠθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον;
τίς δ' ἂν ἡγούμενος μειονεκτεῖν νεώτερόν τι
ἐπεχείρησε ποιεῖν εἰδὼς τὸν βασιλέα νομίμως
3 καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι φέροντα; ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
διαφόρους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥσπερ πατὴρ πρὸς παῖδας
προσεφέρετο. ἐλοιδορεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐτίμα δ' εἴ τι καλὸν πράττοιεν,
παρίστατο δ' εἴ τις ἐ
μὲν οὐδένα ἡγούμενος
ἐθέλων, σῶζεσθαι δι
ζημίαν δὲ τιθεῖς, εἰ κα
εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἡρεμοῦντες διαμένοιεν, ὁ δὲ

And so, by using such methods, he was formidable 8
to his enemies, and inspired his friends with strength
and confidence. Thus he was never despised by his
foes, never brought to account by the citizens, never
blamed by his friends, but throughout his career he
was praised and idolised by all the world.

VII Of his Patriotism it would be a long task to
write in complete detail, for there is no single action
of his, I think, that does not illustrate that quality.
To speak briefly, we all know that when Agesilaus
thought he would be serving his fatherland he never
shirked toil, never shrank from danger, never spared
money, never excused himself on the score of bodily
weakness or old age;¹ but believed that it is the
duty of a good king to do as much good as possible
to his subjects. Among the greatest services he 2
rendered to his fatherland I reckon the fact that,
though the most powerful man in the state, he was
clearly a devoted servant of the laws. For who
would be minded to disobey when he saw the king
obeying? Who would turn revolutionist, thinking
himself defrauded of his due, when he knew that the
king was ready to yield in accordance with the
laws? Here was a man whose behaviour to his 3
political opponents was that of a father to his
children: though he would chide them for their
errors he honoured them when they did a good
deed, and stood by them when any disaster befell
them, deeming no citizen an enemy, willing to
praise all, counting the safety of all a gain, and
reckoning the destruction even of a man of little
worth as a loss. He clearly reckoned that if the
citizens should continue to live in peaceful sub-

¹ *Memorabilia*, III. ii

ἦν εἰδαίμοια μὲν αἰεὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν πατριδα
 λογιζόμενος, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τότε, ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληες
 σωφροὶ ᾖσι.

- 4 Λί γε μὴν αὖ καλὸν Ἕλληια οἶα φιλέλληια
 εἶναι, τίνα τις οἶδει ἄλλον στρατηγὸν ἢ ὅλιν
 οὐκ ἐθέλοντα αἰρεῖν, ὅαν οἴηται ὀρθήσῃν, ἢ
 συμφορὰν νομίζοντα ὀικᾶν ἐν τῷ ἄλλῃ
 5 πολέμῳ, ἐκεῖνος τοίῃν, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθοισης
 αὐτῷ, ὡς εἰ τῇ ἐν Κορίνθῳ μάχῃ ὀκτὼ μὲν
 Λακεδαιμοίων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τῶν ἀντιπάλων
 τεθναῖεν, οὐκ ἐφησθῆς φαιερὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ'
 εἶπεν ἄρα· Φεῦ σου,¹ ὦ Ἑλλάς, ὅποτε οἱ νῦν
 τεθνηκόες ἱκαῖοι ἦσαν ζῶντες νικᾶν μαχόμενοι
 6 πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν
 φευγόντων λεγόντων, ὅτι εἰ δίδοιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις,
 καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων, αἷς πάντως ἡλτίζον
 ἂν² ἐλεῖν τὰ τεῖχη, οὐκ ἤθελε προσβάλλειν,
 λέγων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι Ἑλληνίδας
 πόλεις, ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἁμαρτά
 νοντας, ἔφη, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφανιοῦμεν, ὀρᾶν χρη, μὴ
 οὐδ' ἐξομεν μεθ' ὅτου τῶν βαρβαρων κρατήσομεν
 7 Εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μισοπέρσῃν εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ
 ὁ πάλαι ἐξεστρατευσεν ὡς δουλῶσόμενος τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὁ νῦν συμμαχεῖ μεν τούτοις, μεθ'
 ὀποτέρων ἂν οἴηται μείζω βλαψεῖν, δωρεῖται δ'
 ἐκείνοις, οὗς ἂν νομίζῃ λαβόντας πλείστα κακὰ
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιήσῃν, εἰρήνην δὲ συμπράττει,
 ἐξ ἧς ἂν ἡγήται μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολε
 μήσειν ὀρώσι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ταῦτα ἐπεμεληθῇ
 δέ τις ἄλλως πώποτε πλὴν Ἀγησίλαος, ἢ ὅπως

¹ σου is added from Priscian 2 p 188 it is not in S's text.

mission to the laws, the fatherland would always prosper and that she would be strong when the Greeks were prudent

Again, if it is honourable in one who is a Greek 4 to be a friend to the Greeks, what other general has the world seen unwilling to take a city when he thought that it would be sicked, or who looked on victory in a war against Greeks as a disaster? Now 5 when a report reached Agesilaus that eight Lacedaemonians and near ten thousand of the enemy had fallen at the battle of Corinth, instead of showing pleasure, he actually exclaimed "Alas for thee, Hellas! those who now lie dead were enough to defeat all the barbarians in battle had they lived! And when the Corinthian exiles told him that the 6 city was about to be surrendered to them and pointed to the engines with which they were confident of taking the walls, he would not make an assault, declaring that Greek cities ought not to be enslaved, but chastened "And if, he added, "we are going to annihilate the erring members of our own race, let us beware lest we lack men to help in the conquest of the barbarians

Or again, if it is honourable to hate the Persian 7 because in old days he set out to enslave Greece, and now allies himself with that side which offers him the prospect of working the greater mischief, makes gifts to those who, as he believes, will injure the Greeks most in return, negotiates the peace that he thinks most certain to produce war among us—well, everyone can see these things, but who except Agesilaus has ever striven either to bring about

* $\alpha\gamma$ is added by Richards it is not in S's text

φῦλόν τι ἀποστήσεται τοῦ Πέρσου ἢ ὅπως τὸ ἀποστὰν μὴ ἀπόληται ἢ τὸ παράπαν ὥς καὶ βασιλεὺς κακὰ ἔχων μὴ δυνήσεται τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πράγματα παρέχειν; ὅς καὶ πολεμούσης τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς Ἑλληνας ὅμως τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὃ τι δύναίτο κακὸν ποιήσων τὸν βάρβαρον.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι μὴ σιωπᾶσθαι ὧ γε ὑπαρχούσης μὲν τιμῆς, παρούσης δὲ δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βασιλείας, καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ' ἀγαπώμενης, τὸ μὲν μέγαλαυχον οὐκ ἂν εἶδέ τις, τὶ δὲ φιλόστοργον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων κα
2 μὴ ζητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν. καὶ μὴν μετεῖχε μὲν ἡδιστα παιδικῶν λόγων, συνεσπούδαζε δὲ πᾶν ὃ τι δέοι φίλοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὐελπὶς καὶ εὐθυμὸς καὶ αἰεὶ ἱλαρὸς εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐποίει μὴ τοῦ διαπράξασθαι τι μόνον ἔνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἡδίων διημερεύειν. ἡκιστα δ' ὦν οἷος μεγαληγορεῖν ὅμως τῶν ἐπαινούντων αὐτοὺς οὐ
3 βαρέως ἤκουεν, ἡγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλογνωμοσύνῃ γε ὥς εὐκαίρως ἐχρήτο, οὐ παραλειπτέον. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἣν ὁ μετὰ Καλλέα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης ἤνεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ φέροντι εἶπεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεῖ, ὥς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν, ἣν δὲ

the revolt of a tribe from the Persian, or to save a revolting tribe from destruction, or by some means or other to involve the Great King in trouble so that he will be unable to annoy the Greeks? Nay, when his fatherland was actually at war with Greeks, he did not neglect the common good of Greece, but went out with a fleet to do what harm he could to the barbarian

VIII Another quality that should not go unrecorded is his urbanity. For although he held honour in fee, and had power at his beck, and to these added sovereignty—sovereignty not plotted against but regarded with affection—yet no traces of arrogance could have been detected in him, whereas signs of a fatherly affection and readiness to serve his friends, even if unsought, were evident. He² delighted, moreover, to take his part in light talk, yet he showed an eager sympathy with friends in all their serious concerns. Thanks to his optimism, good humour, and cheerfulness he was a centre of attraction to many, who came not merely for purposes of business, but to pass the day more pleasantly. Little inclined to boastfulness himself, he heard without annoyance the self-praise of others, thinking that, by indulging in it, they did no harm and gave earnest of high endeavour. On the other hand,³ one must not omit a reference to the dignity that he showed on appropriate occasions. Thus, when the Persian envoy who came with Calceas, the Lacedaemonian, handed him a letter from the Great King containing offers of friendship and hospitality, he declined to accept it. "Tell his Majesty," he said to the bearer, "that there is no need for him to send me private letters, but, if he

- φίλος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὖνους ὦν φαίνεται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔσοιτο· ἦν μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύων ἀλίσκηται, μὴδ' ἂν πάνυ πολλὰς ἐπιστολὰς δέχωμαι, φίλον
- 4 ἔξειν με οἰέσθω. ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησιλάου, τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν βασιλέως ξενίαν. ἄγαμαι δὲ καὶ κεῖνο, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότερος πλείω τε χρήματα ἔχοι καὶ πλειόνων ἄρχοι, τούτῳ ἡγήσατο μείζον φρονητέον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁπότερος αὐτὸς τε ἀμείνων εἴη καὶ ἀμεινόνων ἡγοῖτο.
- 5 Ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ κεῖνο τῆς προνοίας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι νομίζων ἀγαθὸν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πλείστους σατράπας οὐκ ἐκρατήθη οὔθ' ὑπὸ δώρων οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλέως ῥώμης ἐβελῆσαι ξενωθῆναι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάξατο μὴ ἄπιστος γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι βουλομένοις.
- 6 Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθεῖη; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσης νομίζων, ἦν χρήματα πλείστα ἔχη, πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν μὲν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον, πάντα δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἐπειράτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀθροίζειν. ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἀντεσκευάσατο τὸν οἶκον, ὥστε τούτων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι.
- 7 εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ιδέτω μὲν, οἷα οἰκία ἦρκει αὐτῷ, θεασάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἂν τις ἔτι ταύτας ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἄσπερ Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους, ὅτε κατῆλθε,

¹ Aristodemus was great grandson of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Xenophon follows the Lacedaemonian account, according to which Aristodemus himself was leader at the time when the Lacedaemonians obtained Sparta (Herodotus,

gives proof of friendship for Lacedæmon, and good will towards Greece, I on my part will be his friend with all my heart. But if he is found plotting against them, let him not hope to have a friend in me, however many letters I may receive" In this 4 contempt for the king's hospitality, as nothing in comparison with the approval of the Greeks, I find one more reason for praising Agesilaus. Admirable too was his opinion that it is not for the ruler with the deeper coffers and the longer roll of subjects to set himself above his rival, but for him who is the better leader of the better people.

Again, an instance of his foresight that I find 5 worthy of praise is this: believing it to be good for Greece that as many satraps as possible should revolt from the king, he was not prevailed on either by gifts or by the king's power to accept his hospitality, but was careful not to give cause to those who wanted to revolt for mistrusting him.

There is yet another side of his character that 6 everyone must admire. It was the belief of the Persian king that by possessing himself of colossal wealth, he would put all things in subjection to himself. In this belief he tried to engross all the gold, all the silver and all the most costly things in the world. Agesilaus, on the contrary, adopted such a simple style in his home that he needed none of these things. If anyone doubts this, let him 7 mark what sort of a house contented him, and in particular, let him look at the doors: one might imagine that they were the very doors that Aristodemus, the descendant of Heracles¹ set up with his

vi, 52) His sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, became the first joint-kings.

λαβὼν ἔπεσθήσατο· πειράσθω δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν
 ἔνδον κατασκευήν, ἐντοησάτω δέ, ὥς ἐθοίιαζεν
 ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δέ, ὥς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ
 καννύθρου κατῆει εἰς Ἀμύκλας ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ.
 8 τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἐφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάνας ταῖς
 προσόδοις οὐδὲν ἡναγκάζετο χρημάτων ἔνεκα
 ἄδικον πράττειν. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἶναι
 τείχη ἀνάλωτα κτᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πολεμίων· πολὺν
 μέντοι ἔγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν
 ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων καὶ
 ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου.

ΙΧ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε, ὥς καὶ τὸν τρόπον
 ὑπεσθήσατο τῇ τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονείᾳ. πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως ὁρᾶσθαι ἐσεμνύνετο,
 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐμφανῆς εἶναι ἡγάλλετο,
 νομίζων αἰσχροουργία μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν,
 τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίῳ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον
 2 παρέχειν. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι
 ἐσεμνύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι
 ἔχαιρε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡβρύνετο τῷ βραδέως δια-
 πράττειν, ὁ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχαιρεν, ὅποτε
 τάχιστα τυχόντας ὧν δέοιντο ἀποπέμποι.

3 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ὅσῳ ῥάονα
 καὶ εὐπορωτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν, ἄξιον
 κατανοῆσαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν
 περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες, τί ἂν ἡδέως πίοι,
 μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται, τί ἂν ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως
 γε μὴν καταδάρθοι, οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσα πρα-
 γματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλόπονος

own hands in the days of his home coming Let him try to picture the scene within, note how he entertained on days of sacrifice, hear how his daughter used to go down to Amyclae¹ in a public car And 8 so, thanks to this nice adjustment of his expenditure to his income, he was never compelled to commit an act of injustice for the sake of money Doubtless it is thought noble to build oneself fortresses impregnable to an enemy but in my judgment it is far nobler to fortify one's own soul against all the assaults of lucre, of pleasure, and of fear

IX I will next point out the contrast between his behaviour and the imposture of the Persian king In the first place the Persian thought his dignity required that he should be seldom seen Agesilaus delighted to be constantly visible, believing that, whereas secrecy was becoming to an ugly career, the light shed lustre on a life of noble purpose In the 2 second place, the one prided himself on being difficult of approach the other was glad to make himself accessible to all And the one affected tardiness in negotiation the other was best pleased when he could dismiss his suitors quickly with their requests granted

In the matter of personal comfort, moreover, it is 3 worth noticing how much simpler and how much more easily satisfied were the tastes of Agesilaus The Persian king has vintners scouring every land to find some drink that will tickle his palate, an army of cooks contrives dishes for his delight, and the trouble his lackeys take that he may sleep is indescribable But Agesilaus, thanks to his love of

¹ To the feast of Hyacinthos, see c. i. 17

- εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ
 συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἥσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀσμένως
 4 κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ
 ταῦτα οὐ μόνον πράττων ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐνθυμούμενος ἠγάλλετο, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν μέσαις
 ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον
 ἑώρα, εἰ μέλλοι ἀλύπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον
 αὐτῷ ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρψοντα.
 5 εὐφραине δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τάδε, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ᾗδει
 τῇ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῇ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως
 χρῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἑώρα φεύγοντα μὲν θάλην,
 φεύγοντα δὲ ψύχῃ δι' ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ θηρίων τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων
 βίον μιμούμενον.
- 6 Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλόγνωμον,
 τὸ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς
 καὶ ἵππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν
 δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν πείσαι ἄρματοτροφεῖν καὶ
 ἐπιδεῖξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο
 οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἐστι.
- 7 τότε γε μὴν πῶς οὐ σαφῶς πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον
 ἔγνω, ὅτι ἄρματι μὲν νικήσας τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὐδὲν
 ὀνομαστότερος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ φίλην μὲν πάντων
 μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔχοι, πλείστους δὲ φίλους
 καὶ ἀρίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεκτῆτο, νικῶν
 δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους εὐεργετῶν,
 τοὺς δὲ ἀντιπάλους τιμωρούμενος, ὅτι ὄντως ἂν
 εἴη νικηφόρος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγαλοπρε-
 πεστάτων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ ὀνομαστότατος καὶ
 ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας γένοιτ' ἂν ;

Χ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησίλαον.

toil, enjoyed any drink that was at hand and any food that came his way; and any place was good enough to give him soft repose. Nor was he happy 4 only in this behaviour. he was also proud to reflect that, while he was surrounded with good cheer, he saw the barbarian constrained to draw from the ends of the world the material for his enjoyment, if he would live without discomfort. And it cheered 5 his heart to know that he could accommodate himself to the divine ordering of the world, whereas he saw his rival shunning heat and shunning cold through weakness of character, imitating the life, not of brave men, but of the weakest of the brutes.

Surely, too, he did what was seemly and dignified 6 when he adorned his own estate with works and possessions worthy of a man, keeping many hounds and war horses, but persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses, and showed by her victory that such a stud marks the owner as a person of wealth, but not necessarily of merit.¹ How clearly his true 7 nobility comes out in his opinion that a victory in the chariot race over private citizens would add not a whit to his renown, but if he held the first place in the affection of the people, gained the most friends and best all over the world, outstripped all others in serving his fatherland and his comrades and in punishing his adversaries, then he would be victor in the noblest and most splendid contests, and would gain high renown both in life and after death.

X. Such, then, are the qualities for which I praise

¹ *Hiero*, xl. 5.

- ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰ θησανρῶ τις ἐντύχοι, πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, οἰκονομικώτερος δ' οὐδὲν ἂν, καὶ εἰ νόσου δὲ πολεμίοις ἐμπεσοῦσης κρατήσκειν, εὐτυχέστερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, στρατηγικώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν· ὁ δὲ καρτερία μὲν πρωτεύων, ἔνθα πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκῇ δέ, ὅπου ἀνδρείας ἀγών, γνώμῃ δέ, ὅπου βουλῆς ἔργον, οὗτος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς παντελῶς ἂν νομίζεσθαι.
- 2 εἰ δὲ καλὸν εὖρημα ἀνθρώποις στάθμη καὶ κανὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, καλὸν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἢ Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετὴ παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκεῖν βουλομένοις. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ θεοσεβῇ μιμούμενος ἀνόσιος γένοιτο ἢ δίκαιον ἀδίκος ἢ σώφρονα ὑβριστῆς ἢ ἐγκρατὴ ἀκρατής; καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλων βασιλευεῖν ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνετο οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς πολίταις.
- 3 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκὼς ἐπαινεῖται, τούτου ἔνεκα θρῆνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομισάτω, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἅπερ ζῶν ἤκουε, ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ τί καὶ πλεόν θρήνου ἅπεστιν ἢ βίος τε εὐκλεῆς καὶ θάνατος ὠραῖος; ἐγκωμίων δὲ τί ἀξιώτερον ἢ νῖκαί τε αἱ κάλλιστα
- 4 καὶ ἔργα τὰ πλείστου ἀξία; δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε μακαρίζοιτο, ὡς εὐθύς μὲν ἐκ παιδὸς ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ εὐκλεῆς γενέσθαι ἔτυχε τούτου μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν φιλοτιμωτάτος εἶ

¹ The reference is to the ceremonial hymn sung at or after funerals, which of course contained much that would not have been said or sung in the hero's life time.

Agesilaus These are the marks that distinguish him, say, from the man who, lighting on a treasure, becomes wealthier but not wiser in business, or from the man who wins victory through an outbreak of sickness among the enemy, and adds to his success but not to his knowledge of strategy The man who is foremost in endurance when the hour comes for toil, in valour when the contest calls for courage, in wisdom when the need is for counsel—he is the man, I think, who may fairly be regarded as the perfect embodiment of goodness If line and rule 2 are a noble discovery of man as aids to the production of good work, I think that the virtue of Agesilaus may well stand as a noble example for those to follow who wish to make moral goodness a habit For who that imitates a pious, a just, a sober, a self controlled man, can come to be unrighteous, unjust, violent, wanton? In point of fact, Agesilaus prided himself less on reigning over others than on ruling himself, less on leading the people against their enemies than on guiding them to all virtue

However, let it not be thought, because one whose 3 life is ended is the theme of my praise, that these words are meant for a funeral dirge¹ They are far more truly the language of eulogy In the first place the words now applied to him are the very same that he heard in his lifetime And, in the second place, what theme is less appropriate to a dirge than a life of fame and a death well timed? What more worthy of eulogies than victories most 4 glorious and deeds of sovereign worth? Justly may the man be counted blessed who was in love with glory from early youth and won more of it than any man of his age, who, being by nature very covetous

πεφυκὼς αἰήττητος διετελέσεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο· ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μήκιστον ἀνθρωπίνου αἰῶνος ἀναμάρτητος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ περὶ τούτους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους, οἷς ἐπολέμει.

XI. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἂν ὁ ἔπαινος εὐμνημονεστέρως ἔχη.

Ἀγησίλαος ἱερὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσέβετο, ἡγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἥττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ χρῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἰκέτας δὲ θεῶν οὐδὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐβιάζετο, νομίζων ἄλογον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἱερῶν κλέποντας ἱεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βωμῶν ἰκέτας ἀποσπῶντας εὐσεβεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι.

² Ἐκεῖνός γε μὴν ὑμῶν οὐποτ' ἔληγεν, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶοιτο οὐδὲν ἥττον ὁσίοις ἔργοις ἢ ἀγνοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡδεσθαι.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁπότε εὐτυχοίῃ, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπερεφρόνει, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς χάριν ᾗδει. καὶ θαρρῶν πλείονα ἔθυνεν ἢ ὁκνῶν ἡὔχετο.

Εἴθιστο δὲ φοβούμενος μὲν ἱλαρὸς φαίνεσθαι, εὐτυχῶν δὲ πρᾶος εἶναι.

³ Τῶν γε μὴν φίλων οὐ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο.

Ἐμίσει δὲ οὐκ εἴ τις κακῶς πάσχων ἡμύνετο, ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐεργετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαίνοιτο.

Ἐχαιρε δὲ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροκερδεῖς πένητας ὀρῶν, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους πλουσίους ποιῶν, βουλόμενος τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας κερδαλεωτέραν καθιστάναι.

of honour, never once knew defeat from the day that he became a king; who, after living to the utmost limit of human life, died without one blunder to his account, either concerning the men whom he led or in dealing with those on whom he made war.

XI. I propose to go through the story of his virtue again, and to summarize it, in order that the praise of it may be more easily remembered

Agesilaus revered holy places even when they belonged to an enemy, thinking that he ought to make allies of the gods no less in hostile than in friendly countries.

To suppliants of the gods, even if his foes, he did no violence, believing it unreasonable to call robbers of temples sacrilegious and yet to consider those who dragged suppliants from altars pious men.

My hero never failed to dwell on his opinion² that the gods have pleasure in righteous deeds no less than in holy temples

In the hour of success he was not puffed up with pride, but gave thanks to the gods. He offered more sacrifices when confident than prayers when in doubt.

He was wont to look cheerful when in fear, and to be humble when successful

Of his friends he welcomed most heartily not the³ most powerful, but the most devoted

He hated not the man who defended himself when injured, but such as showed no gratitude for a favour.

He rejoiced to see the avaricious poor and to enrich the upright, desiring to render right more profitable than wrong

4 Ἦσκει δὲ ἐξομιλεῖν μὲν ταιτοδατοῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς

Ὅποτε δὲ ψυγόντων ἢ ἐπαινούτων τινὰς ἀκουοι, οὐχ ἡττον ὥςτο καταμαιθαιειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λέγοιαι

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων ἐξαπατωμέους οὐκ ἔψεγε, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάντα κατεμεμφετο καὶ το μὲ ἀπιστοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶν σοφὸν ἔκριε, τὸ δὲ πιστευοντας ἀνόσιον

5 Ἐπαινούμενος δε ἔχαιρε ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ψέγειν ἐθελόντων τὰ μὴ ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν παρρησιαζομένων οὐδένα ἡχθραιε, τοὺς δὲ κρυφίνους ὥσπερ ἐνεδρας ἐφυλαττετο

Τοὺς γε μὴν διαβόλους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐμίσει, μείζω ζημιαν ἡγούμενος φίλων ἢ χρημάτων
6 στερίσκεσθαι καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν αμαρτίας πρῶς ἔφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἡγε, κρίνων τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγα, τοὺς δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς διατιθέναι

Τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ προσήκειν ἐνόμιζεν οὐ ῥαδιουργίαν, ἀλλὰ καλοκαγαθίαν

7 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰκόνα στήσασθαι ἀπέσχετο πολλῶν αὐτῷ τοῦτο δωρεῖσθαι θελοντων, τῆς δε ψυχῆς οὐδέποτε ἐπαυετο μνημεῖα διαπονόμενος, ἡγούμενος τὸ μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, τὸ δε αὐτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὲν πλουσίῳ, τὸ δε τῶν ἀγαθῶν

8 Χρημασι γε μὴν οὐ μονον δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἐχρήτο, τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ ἀρκεῖν ἡγούμενος τὸ εἶναι τα αλλοτρία, τῷ δὲ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ τῶν εαυτοῦ προσωφελητέον εἶναι

It was his habit to associate with all sorts and conditions of men, but to be intimate with the good. 1

Whenever he heard men praise or blame others, he thought that he gained as much insight into the character of the critics as of the persons they criticized.

If friends proved deceivers he forebore to blame their victims, but he heaped reproaches on those who let an enemy deceive them; and he pronounced deception clever or wicked according as it was practised on the suspicious or the confiding.

The praise of those who were prepared to censure 5 faults they disapproved was pleasing to him, and he never resented candour, but avoided dissimulation like a snare.

Slanderers he hated more than thieves, deeming loss of friends graver than loss of money. The mistakes of private persons he judged leniently, because few interests suffer by their incompetence; but the errors of rulers he treated as serious, since they lead to many troubles.

Kingship, he held, demands not indolence, but manly virtue.

He would not allow a statue of himself to be set 7 up, though many wanted to give him one, but on memorials of his mind he laboured unceasingly, thinking the one to be the sculptor's work, the other his own, the one appropriate to the rich, the other to the good.

In the use of money he was not only just but 8 generous, thinking that a just man may be content to leave other men's money alone, but the generous man is required also to spend his own in the service of others.

Ἄει δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὐπω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἤδη μακαρίους.

9 Μείζω δὲ συμφορὰν ἔκρινε τὸ γιγνώσκοντα ἢ ἀγνοοῦντα ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἦρα, ἣς οὐκ ἐξεπόνει τὰ ἴδια.

Μετ' ὀλίγων δέ μοι ἐδόκει ἀνθρώπων οὐ καρτερίαν τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλ' εὐπάθειαν νομίζειν· ἐπαινούμενος γοῦν ἔχαιρε μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα κτώμενος.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείαν γε τὸ πλεον μετ' εὐβουλίας ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ σοφίαν ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις ἥσκει.

10 Πραότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὢν ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος ἦν· καὶ πονοῖς μάλιστα ἀντέχων ἐταίροις ἡδιστα ὑπέεικε, καλῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν.

Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐθαρσῆς ἐδύνατο εἶναι.

11 Καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι οὐ σκώμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐπετήδευε καὶ τῷ μεγαλόφρονι οὐ σὺν ὕβρει, ἀλλὰ σὺν γνώμῃ ἐχρήτο· τῶν γοῦν ὑπεραύχων καταφρονῶν τῶν μετρίων ταπεινότερος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα φανλότητι, τῷ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα κόσμῳ, τῷ δ' αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων δεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ὡς πλείστα ὠφελεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βαρύτατος μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἦν, κουφότατος δὲ κρατήσας, ἐχθροῖς μὲν δυσεξαπάτητος, φίλοις δὲ εὐπαραπειστότατος.

He was ever god fearing, believing that they who are living life well are not yet happy, but only they who have died gloriously are blessed

He held it a greater calamity to neglect that which is good knowingly than in ignorance

No fame attracted him unless he did the right work to achieve it

He seemed to me one of the few men who count virtue not a task to be endured but a comfort to be enjoyed At any rate praise gave him more pleasure than money.

Courage, as he displayed it, was joined with prudence rather than boldness, and wisdom he cultivated more by action than in words

Very gentle with friends, he was very formidable to enemies, and while he resisted fatigue obstinately, he yielded most readily to a comrade, though fair deeds appealed more to his heart than fair faces

To moderation in times of prosperity he added confidence in the midst of danger

His urbanity found its habitual expression not in jokes but in his manner, and when on his dignity, he was never arrogant, but always reasonable, at least, if he showed his contempt for the haughty, he was humbler than the average man For he prided himself on the simplicity of his own dress and the splendid equipment of his army, on a strict limitation of his own needs and a boundless generosity to his friends Added to this, he was the bitterest of adversaries, but the mildest of conquerors, wary with enemies, but very compliant to friends

Ἄελ δὲ τιθεὶς τὰ τῶν φίλων ἀσφαλῶς αἰεὶ
ἀμανροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον εἶχεν.

- 13 Ἐκείνον οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον, οἱ δ' ὑπουργήσαντές τι μνήμονα, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι ἐπίκουρον, οἳ γε μὴν συγκινδυνεύοντες μετὰ θεοῦς σωτήρα.

- 14 Δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τόδε μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς γηράσκει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν οὐκ ἀπείπε μεγάλης καὶ καλῆς ἐφιεμένος δόξης,¹ εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ σῶμα φέρειν ἡδύνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμην.
- 15 τοιγαροῦν ποίας οὐ νεότητος κρεῖττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὕτω φοβερός ἦν ὥς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἵωνος ἔχων; τίνος δ' ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἥσθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ Ἀγησιλάου καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θύρρος παρέσχεν ὅσον Ἀγησίλαος καίπερ ἤδη πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου ὢν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἢ Ἀγησίλαον γηραιὸν
- 16 ἀποθανόντα; οὕτω δὲ τελέως ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ πατρίδι ὠφέλιμος ὢν διεγένετο, ὥς καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἤδη ἔτι μεγαλείως ὠφελῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αἰδίον οἴκησιν κατηγάγετο, μνημεῖα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κτησάμενος, τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυχών.

¹ The text is corrupt δόξης εἰ καὶ μὴ is wanting in A, which has μεγάλην καὶ καλήν.

While ever ensuring security to his own side, he ever made it his business to bring to nought the designs of his enemy.

By his relatives he was described as "devoted to his family," by his intimates as "an unfailing friend,"¹ by those who served him as "unforgetful," by the oppressed as "a champion," by his comrades in danger as "a saviour second to the gods"

In one respect, I think, he was unique. He proved that, though the bodily strength decays, the vigour of good men's souls is ageless. At any rate, he never wearied in the pursuit of great and noble glory so long as his body could support the vigour of his soul. What man's youth, then, did not seem weaker than his old age? For who in his prime was so formidable to his foes as Agesilaus at the very limit of human life? Whose removal brought such welcome relief to the enemy as the death of Agesilaus, despite his years? Who gave such confidence to allies as Agesilaus, though now on the threshold of death? What young man was more regretted by his friends than Agesilaus, though he died full of years? So complete was the record of his service to his fatherland that it did not end even when he died. he was still a bountiful benefactor of the state when he was brought home to be laid in his eternal resting place, and, having raised up monuments of his virtue throughout the world, was buried with royal ceremony in his own land.²

¹ *Hellenica*, v v 45

² The reference is to the money which Agesilaus had obtained in Egypt, and which was brought to the city with his body. For the burial see *Const. of the Lac*, end

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**CONSTITUTION OF THE
LACEDAEMONIANS**

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

Ι. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἐννοήσας ποτέ, ὡς ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὔσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐφάνη, ἐθαύμασα, ὅτ' ποτὲ τρόπῳ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατενόησα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐκέτι ἐθαύμαζον.

2 Λυκοῦργον μέντοι τὸν θέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, οἷς πειθόμενοι ἠϋδαιμόνησαν, τοῦτον καὶ θαυμάζω καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα σοφὸν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μιμησάμενος τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία γνούς ταῖς πλείσταις προέχουσιν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπέδειξεν.

3 Αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκούσας κόρας παιδεύεσθαι καὶ σίτῳ ἢ ἀνυστὸν μετριωτάτῳ τρέφουσι καὶ ὄψῳ ἢ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ· οἶνου γε μὴν ἢ πάμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἢ ὑδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν· ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἐδραῖοί εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἡρεμιζούσας ἐριουργεῖν ἀξιοῦσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὕτω τρεφόμενας πῶς χρὴ προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλείον ἂν τι γεννηῆσαι;

CONSTITUTION OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS

I It occurred to me one day that Sparta, though among the most thinly populated of states, was evidently the most powerful and most celebrated city in Greece, and I fell to wondering how this could have happened. But when I considered the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer.

Lycurgus, who gave them the laws that they² obey, and to which they owe their prosperity, I do regard with wonder, and I think that he reached the utmost limit of wisdom. For it was not by imitating other states, but by devising a system utterly different from that of most others, that he made his country pre eminently prosperous.

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the³ begetting of children¹. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen—to keep quiet and do wool work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children?

¹ The prose *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* by Critias began with the same point. See Introduction III.

καθίστανται, ὃς δὴ καὶ παιδονόμος καλεῖται.
 τοῦτον δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς
 παῖδας καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἴ τις ῥαδιουργοίῃ,
 ἰσχυρῶς κολάζειν. ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν
 ἡβώντων μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῖεν ὅτε
 3 ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι. ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν
 τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησία κραι-
 νύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν
 ῥᾶον ἂν ὀρθιάδε βαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρηνῇ
 καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ
 δραμεῖν θάττον τὸν¹ ἀνυπόδητον, εἰ ἡσκηκῶς εἴη
 4 τοὺς πόδας, ἢ τὸν ὑποδεδεμένον. καὶ ἀντί γε
 τοῦ ἱματίοις διαθρύπτεσθαι ἐνόμισεν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ
 δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως καὶ πρὸς
 ψύχῃ καὶ πρὸς θάλπῃ ἄμεινον ἂν παρεσκευάσθαι.
 5 σῖτόν γε μὴν ἔταξε τοσοῦτον ἔχοντα συμβολεύειν
 τὸν εἶρενα, ὥς ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς μὲν μήποτε βαρύ-
 νεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως διάγειν μὴ ἀπείρως
 ἔχειν, νομίζων τοὺς οὕτω παιδευομένους μᾶλλον
 μὲν ἂν δύνασθαι, εἰ δεήσειεν, ἀσιτήσαντας ἐπιπο-
 νῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἂν, εἰ παραγγελθείη, ἀπὸ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ σίτου πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι, ἥττον δ'
 ἂν ὄψου δεῖσθαι, εὐχερέστερον δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἔχειν
 6 βρῶμα καὶ ὑγιεινοτέρως δ' ἂν διάγειν, καὶ εἰς

¹ τὸν, wanting in the MSS. and in S., is twice supplied by Cobet.

fact to the "Warden" as he is called. He gave this person authority to gather the boys together, to take charge of them and to punish them severely in case of misconduct. He also assigned to him a staff of youths provided with whips to chastise them when necessary, and the result is that modesty and obedience are inseparable companions at Sparta. ³ Instead of softening the boys' feet with sandals he required them to harden their feet by going without shoes. He believed that if this habit were cultivated it would enable them to climb hills more easily and descend steep inclines with less danger, and that a youth who had accustomed himself to go barefoot would leap and jump and run more nimbly than a boy in sandals. And instead of ⁴ letting them be pampered in the matter of clothing, he introduced the custom of wearing one garment throughout the year, believing that they would thus be better prepared to face changes of heat and cold. As to the food, he required ⁵ the prefect to bring with him ¹ such a moderate amount of it that the boys would never suffer from repletion, and would know what it was to go with their hunger unsatisfied, for he believed that those who underwent this training would be better able to continue working on an empty stomach, if necessary, and would be capable of carrying on longer without extra food, if the word of command were given to do so. They would want fewer delicacies and would accommodate themselves more readily to anything put before them, and at the same time would enjoy better health. He also thought that a diet which ⁶

συνεβουλεύεν ὧς, "he recommended them to eat so moderately that they", and this is probably right.

μῆκος ἂν αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν ῥαδινὰ τὰ σώματα
 ποιούσαν τροφήν μᾶλλον συλλαμβάνειν ἢ γήσατο
 ἢ τὴν διαπλατύνουσιν τῷ σίτῳ.

Ὡς δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιέζουσιν, ἀπρα-
 γμόνως μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔδωκε λαμβάνειν ὧν αὐ-
 τοὶ προσδέονται, κλέπτειν δ' ἐφῆκεν ἔστιν αὐτῷ λιμῷ
 7 ἐπικουροῦντας. καὶ ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὅτι δοίη
 ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς γε μηχανᾶσθαι τὴν τροφήν, οὐδένα
 οἶμαι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν· δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα
 κλωπεύειν καὶ νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνεῖν δεῖ καὶ μεθ'
 ἡμέραν ἀπατᾶν καὶ εἰεδρεύειν, καὶ κατασκόπους
 δὲ ἐτοιμάζειν τὸν μελλοντά τι λήψεσθαι. ταῦτα
 οὖν δὴ πάντα δῆλον ὅτι μηχανικωτέρους τῶν
 ἐπιτηδείων βουλόμενος τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν καὶ
 πολεμικωτέρους οὕτως ἐπαίδευσεν.

8 Εἵποι δ' ἂν οὖν τις, τί δῆτα, εἵπερ τὸ κλέπτειν
 ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ
 ἀλίσκομένῳ; ὅτι, φημὶ ἐγώ, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα
 ἄνθρωποι διδάσκουσι, κολάζουσιν τὸν μὴ καλῶς
 ὑπηρετοῦντα. κακῆνοι οὖν τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους
 9 ὥς κακῶς κλέπτοντας τιμωροῦνται. καὶ ὥς
 πλείστους δὴ ἄρπάσαι τυροὺς [παρ' Ὀρθίας]
 καλὸν θεῖς μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε,
 τοῦτο δὴ δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος, ὅτι
 ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν χρόνον
 εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεισθαι. δηλοῦται δὲ ἐν

¹ *Anabasis*, IV, vi. 14

² At this altar the annual scourging of Spartan boys and youths took place, according to Plutarch and Pausanias; but

made their bodies slim would do more to increase their height than one that consisted of flesh forming food

On the other hand, lest they should feel too much the pinch of hunger,¹ while not giving them the opportunity of taking what they wanted without trouble he allowed them to alleviate their hunger by stealing something. It was not on account of a difficulty in ⁷ providing for them that he encouraged them to get their food by their own cunning. No one, I suppose, can fail to see that. Obviously a man who intends to take to thieving must spend sleepless nights and play the deceiver and lie in ambush by day, and moreover, if he means to make a capture, he must have spies ready. There can be no doubt then, that all this education was planned by him in order to make the boys more resourceful in getting supplies, and better fighting men.

Someone may ask. But why, if he believed ⁸ stealing to be a fine thing, did he have the boy who was caught beaten with many stripes? I reply. Because in all cases men punish a learner for not carrying out properly whatever he is taught to do. So the Spartans chastise those who get caught for stealing badly. He made it a point of honour to ⁹ steal as many cheeses as possible [from the altar of Artemis Orthia],² but appointed others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that by enduring pain for a short time one may win lasting fame and felicity. It is shown herein that

this custom seems to have no connexion with that of punishing those who were caught thieving. It is not improbable that the whole of this sentence is an interpolation, if not, the text is corrupt beyond restoration.

τούτῳ, ὅτι καὶ ὅπου τάχους δεῖ ὁ βλακεύων
ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὠφελεῖται, πλείστα δὲ πράγματα
λαμβάνει.

10 "Ὅπως δὲ μὴδ' εἰ ὁ παιδονόμος ἀπέλθοι, ἔρημοί
ποτε οἱ παῖδες εἶεν ἄρχοντος, ἐποίησε τὸν αἰεὶ
παρόντα τῶν πολιτῶν κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτάττειν
τοῖς παισὶν ὅ τι ἀγαθὸν δοκοίη εἶναι καὶ κολάζειν,
εἴ τι ἁμαρτάνοιεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας διέπραξε
καὶ αἰδημονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲν
γὰρ οὕτως αἰδοῦνται οὔτε παῖδες οὔτε ἄνδρες
11 ὥς τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ὥς δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε μὴδεὶς
τύχοι ἀνὴρ παρών, μὴδ' ὥς ἔρημοι οἱ παῖδες
ἄρχοντος εἶεν, ἔθηκε τῆς ἱλῆς ἐκάστης τὸν
τορώτατον τῶν εἰρένων ἄρχειν· ὥστε οὐδέποτε
ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες ἔρημοι ἄρχοντός εἰσι.

12 Λεκτέον δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν
παιδικῶν ἐρώτων· ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς
παιδείαν. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλοι "Ἕλληνες ἢ ὥσπερ
Βοιωτοὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ παῖς συζυγέστες ὁμιλοῦσιν ἢ
ὥσπερ Ἡλείοι διὰ χαρίτων τῇ ὥρᾳ χρώνται· εἰσὶ
δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπασι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς
ἐραστὰς εἵργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων.

13 Ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος ἐναντία καὶ τούτοις πᾶσι γνοὺς
εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὸς ὦν οἶον δεῖ ἀγασθεὶς ψυχὴν παι-
δὸς πειρῶτο ἄμεμπτον φίλον ἀποτελέσασθαι καὶ
συνεῖναι, ἐπὶ καὶ καλλίστην παιδείαν ταύτην
ἐνόμιζεν· εἰ δέ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος
φανείη, αἰσχιστον τοῦτο θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐν Λακε-
δαίμονι μὴδὲν ἡττον ἐραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι
ἢ γονεῖς παίδων καὶ¹ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰς
ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται.

¹ ἢ καὶ S. with the MSS.: ἢ was removed by Schäfer.

where there is need of swiftness, the slothful, as usual, gets little profit and many troubles.

In order that the boys might never lack a ruler 10 even when the Warden was away, he gave authority to any citizen who chanced to be present to require them to do anything that he thought right, and to punish them for any misconduct. This had the effect of making the boys more respectful; in fact boys and men alike respect their rulers above everything. And that a ruler might not be lacking to 11 the boys even when no grown man happened to be present, he selected the keenest of the prefects, and gave to each the command of a division. And so at Sparta the boys are never without a ruler.

I think I ought to say something also about intimacy 12 with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education. In other Greek states, for instance among the Bocotians, man and boy live together, like married people; ¹ elsewhere, among the Eleians, for example, consent is won by means of favours. Some, on the other hand, entirely forbid suitors to talk with boys.

The customs instituted by Lycurgus were opposed 13 to all of these. If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's soul and tried to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he turned the connexion as an abomination; and thus he purged the relationship of all impurity, so that in Lacedæmon it resembled parental and brotherly love.

4 Τὸ μέντοι ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τινῶν οὐ θαυμάζω· ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οἱ νόμοι οὐκ ἐναντιοῦνται ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιθυμίαις.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ παιδεία εἴρηται ἢ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ἐξ ὅποτέρας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ εὐπειθέστεροι καὶ αἰδημονέστεροι καὶ ὧν δεῖ ἐγκρατέστεροι ἄνδρες ἀποτελοῦνται, ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισκοπεῖσθω.

III. Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μεираκιῶσθαι ἐκβαίῳσι, τηνικαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἄρχουσι δὲ οὐδένες ἔτι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους ἀφιεῖσιν· ὁ δὲ Λυκουργος καὶ τούτων
2 τὰναντία ἔγνω. καταμαθὼν γὰρ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μέγιστον μὲν φρόνημα ἐμφυόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ ὕβριν ἐπιπολάζουσαν, ἰσχυροτάτας δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἡδονῶν παρισταμένας, τηνικαῦτα πλείστον μὲν πόνους αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλε, πλείστην δὲ ἀσχολίαν
3 ἐμηχανήσατο. ἐπιθεὶς δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ταῦτα φύγοι, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν καλῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐποίησε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κηδομένους ἐκάστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀδόκιμοι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει γένοιντο.

4 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἰσχυρῶς ἐμφυσιῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπέταξεν ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἱματίου τὸ χεῖρε ἔχειν, σιγῇ δὲ πορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπειν δὲ μηδαμοῖ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὁρᾶν. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται, ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φύλον· καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι τῆς θηλείας
5 φύσεως. ἐκείνων γοῦν ἥττον μὲν ἂν φωνὴν

I am not surprised, however, that people refuse 14
to believe this. For in many states the laws are
not opposed to the indulgence of these appet-
tites

I have now dealt with the Spartan system of edu-
cation, and that of the other Greek states Which
system turns out men more obedient, more respectful,
and more strictly temperate, anyone who chooses
may once more judge for himself

III When a boy ceases to be a child, and begins
to be a lad, others release him from his moral tutor
and his schoolmaster he is then no longer under
a ruler and is allowed to go his own way Here
again Lycurgus introduced a wholly different
system. For he observed that at this time of life 2
self will makes strong root in a boys mind, a
tendency to insolence manifests itself, and a keen
appetite for pleasure in different forms takes posses-
sion of him At this stage, therefore, he imposed on
him a ceaseless round of work, and contrived a con-
stant round of occupation The penalty for shirking 3
the duties was exclusion from all future honours
He thus caused not only the public authorities, but
their relations also to take pains that the lads did
not incur the contempt of their fellow citizens by
finching from their tasks

Moreover, wishing modesty to be firmly rooted 4
in them, he required them to keep their hands
under their cloaks, to walk in silence, not to look
about them, but to fix their eyes on the ground
The effect of this rule has been to prove that even
in the matter of decorum the male is stronger than
the female sex. At any rate you would expect a 5

ἀκούσαις ἢ τῶν λιθίων, ἤττοι δ' ἂν ὄμματα μεταστρέψαις ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν, αἰδοῖναι στέρον δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αἰτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις παρθένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ φιλίτιόν γε ἀφίκονται, ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀκούσαι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν αὖ παιδίσκων οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη.

IV. Περί γε μὴν τῶν ἡβώντων πολὺ μάλιστα ἐσπούδασε, νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιτο οἶους δεῖ, πλείστον ῥέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει. 2 ὁρῶν οὖν, οἷς ἂν μάλιστα φιλοεικία ἐγγένηται, τούτων καὶ χοροὺς ἀξιακροατοτάτους γιγνομένους καὶ γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοθεατοτάτους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἡβώντας συμβάλλοι εἰς ἔριν περὶ ἀρετῆς, οὕτως ἂν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀνδραγαθίας. ὥς οὖν τούτους αὖ συνέβαλεν, ἐξηγήσομαι

3 Αἰροῦνται τοίνυν αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τρεῖς ἄνδρας· οὗτοι δὲ ἵππαγρέται καλοῦνται. τούτων δ' ἕκαστος ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν καταλέγει, διασαφηνίζων, ὅτου ἔνεκα τοὺς μὲν 4 προτιμᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζει. οἱ οὖν μὴ τυγχάνοντες τῶν καλῶν πολεμοῦσι τοῖς τε ἀποστείλασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν ἀνθ' αὐτῶν, καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, εἴαν τι παρὰ τὰ καλὰ νομιζόμενα ῥαδιουργῶσι.

5 Καὶ αὕτη δὴ γίγνεται ἡ θεσφιλεστάτη τε καὶ

¹ Longinus and Stobaeus quote this with ὀφθαλμοῖς, "eyes," in place of θαλάμοις, "bridal chambers"; and the former ensures the use of παρθένων for κορῶν, meaning "pupils" of the eye

² *Cyropaedia*, II. i. 22.

stone image to utter a sound sooner than those lads; you would sooner attract the attention of a bronze figure; you might think them more modest even than a young bride in the bridal chamber.¹ When they have taken their place at a public meal, you must be content if you can get an answer to a question.

Such was the care that he bestowed on the growing lads.

IV. For those who had reached the prime of life he showed by far the deepest solicitude. For he believed that if these were of the right stamp they must exercise a powerful influence for good on the state. He saw that where the spirit of rivalry² is strongest among the people, there the choruses are most worth hearing and the athletic contests afford the finest spectacle. He believed, therefore, that if he could match the young men together in a strife of valour, they too would reach a high level of manly excellence.³ I will proceed to explain, therefore, how he instituted matches between the young men.

The Ephors, then, pick out three of the very best³ among them. These three are called Commanders of the Guard. Each of them enrolls a hundred others, stating his reasons for preferring one and rejecting another. The result is that those who fail to win⁴ the honour are at war both with those who sent them away and with their successful rivals; and they are on the watch for any lapse from the code of honour.

Here then you find that kind of strife that is⁵

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VII. ii. 26.

πολιτικωτάτῃ ἔρις, ἐν ᾗ ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν, χωρὶς δ' ἐκάτεροι ἀσκούσιν, ὅπως αἰεὶ κράτιστοι ἔσονται, ἐὰν δέ τι δέῃ, καθ' ἓνα ἀρήξουσιν τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει. ἀνάγκη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐεξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πυκτεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὅπου ἂν συμβάλωσιν διαλύειν μέντοι τοὺς μαχομένους πᾶς ὁ παραγενόμενος κύριος. ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τῷ διαλύοντι, ἄγει αὐτὸν ὁ παιδονόμος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ ζημιοῦσι μεγαλείως, καθιστάναι βουλόμενοι εἰς τὸ μήποτε ὀργὴν τοῦ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις κρατῆσαι.

7 Τοῖς γε μὴν τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν πεπερακόσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἤδη καὶ αἱ μέγιστα ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἕλληνας ἀφελόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἰσχύος ἔτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι στρατεύεσθαι ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάττουσιν, ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος τοῖς τηλικούτοις νόμιμον ἐποίησε κάλλιστον εἶναι τὸ θηρᾶν, εἰ μὴ τι δημόσιον κωλύοι, ὅπως δύναιντο καὶ οὗτοι μηδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἡβώντων στρατιωτικούς πόνους ὑποφέρειν.

V. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐκάστη ἡλικία ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐπιτηδεύματα, σχεδὸν εἴρηται· οἷαν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι δίαίταν κατεσκεύασε, νῦν πειράσομαι διηγείσθαι.

2 Λυκοῦργος τοίνυν παραλαβὼν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, γνούς ἐν τούτοις πλεῖστα ῥαδιουργεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐξήγαγε τὰ συσκήνια, οὕτως ἡγούμενος

¹ *Horsemanship*, ii. 1.

² Lit. "moved the Sysskania out into the open." See Introduction III

dearest to the gods, and in the highest sense political—the strife that sets the standard of a brave man's conduct; and in which either party exerts itself to the end that it may never fall below its best, and that, when the time comes, every member of it may support the state with all his might¹ And they are bound, too, to keep themselves fit, for one effect of the strife is that they spar whenever they meet, but anyone present has a right to part the combatants If anyone refuses to obey the mediator the Warden takes him to the Ephors, and they fine him heavily, in order to make him realize that he must never yield to a sudden impulse to disobey the laws

To come to those who have passed the time of youth, and are now eligible to hold the great offices of state While absolving these from the duty of bestowing further attention on their bodily strength, the other Greeks require them to continue serving in the army But Lycurgus established the principle that for citizens of that age, hunting was the noblest occupation, except when some public duty prevented, in order that they might be able to stand the fatigues of soldiering as well as the younger men

V I have given a fairly complete account of the institutions of Lycurgus so far as they apply to the successive stages of life. I will now try to describe the system that he established for all alike

Lycurgus found the Spartans boarding at home² like the other Greeks, and came to the conclusion that the custom was responsible for a great deal of misconduct He therefore established the public messes outside in the open,² thinking that this

ἦκιστ' ἂν παραβαίνεσθαι τὰ προσταττόμενα.
 3 καὶ σῖτόν γε¹ ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς μήτε ὑπερπλη-
 ροῦσθαι μήτε ἐνδεεῖς γίγνεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
 παρίλογα γίγνεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγρευομένων· οἱ δὲ
 πλούσιοι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἄρτον ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν·
 ὥστε οὔτε ἔρημός ποτε ἢ τράπεζα βρωτῶν γί-
 γνεται, ἔστ' ἂν διασκηνῶσιν, οὔτε πολυδάπανος.
 4 καὶ μὴν τοῦ πότου ἀποπαύσας τὰς² ἡλιακαίας
 πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουνσι μὲν σώματα, σφύλλουνσι
 δὲ γνώμας, ἐφῆκεν ὁπότε διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν.
 οὕτω νομίζων ἀβλαβέστατόν τε καὶ ἡδιστον
 ποτόν γίγνεσθαι.

Οὕτω γε μὴν συσκηνοῦντων πῶς ἂν τις ἢ ὑπὸ
 λιχνείας ἢ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ αὐτόν ἢ οἶκον διαφθεί-
 5 ρειε; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὥς
 τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἡλικες ἀλλήλοις σύνεισι, μεθ' ὧν περ
 καὶ ἐλαχίστη αἰδὼς παραγίγνεται· ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος
 ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀνέμιξε παιδεύεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ
 τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεραιτέρων ἐμπειρίας.
 6 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχώριον ἐν τοῖς φιλιτίοις λέγεσθαι
 ὅτι ἂν καλῶς τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιήσῃ· ὥστ' ἐκεῖ
 ἦκιστα μὲν ὕβριν, ἦκιστα δὲ παροινίαν, ἦκιστα
 7 δὲ αἰσχρορργίαν καὶ αἰσχρολογίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι.
 ἀγαθὰ γε μὴν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τάδε ἢ ἔξω
 σίτησις· περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ
 οἴκαδε ἀφόδῳ καὶ μὴν τὸ ὑπὸ οἴνου μὴ σφάλ-
 λεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰδότες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνθα περ

¹ γε Stephanus: τε S. with the MSS.

² τὰς Madvig: τὰς οὐκ S. with the MSS.

¹ At the public meals each had his own cup: there was no passing of cups along as at Athens and elsewhere. Critias in *Athenaeus*, x. 432 D and xl. 463 E.

would reduce disregard of orders to a minimum. The amount of food he allowed was just enough to 3 prevent them from getting either too much or too little to eat. But many extras are supplied from the spoils of the chase, and for these rich men some times substitute wheaten bread. Consequently the board is never bare until the company breaks up, and never extravagantly furnished. Another of his 4 reforms was the abolition of compulsory drinking,¹ which is the undoing alike of body of mind. But he allowed everyone to drink when he was thirsty, believing that drink is then most harmless and most welcome.

Now what opportunity did these public messes give a man to ruin himself or his estate by gluttony or wine bibbing? Note that in other states the 5 company usually consists of men of the same age, where modesty is apt to be conspicuous by its absence from the board. But Lycurgus introduced mixed companies² at Sparta, so that the experience of the elders might contribute largely to the education of the juniors. In point of fact, by the custom of the 6 country the conversation at the public meals turns on the great deeds wrought in the state, and so there is little room for insolence or drunken uproar, for unseemly conduct or indecent talk. And the system 7 of feeding in the open has other good results. They must needs walk home after the meal, and, of course, must take good care not to stumble under the influence of drink (for they know that they will not

¹ Something appears to be lost after ἀνάγκη. Schnebler suggested ἀνάγκη τὰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς, 'mixed the ages so that.'

ἔδεικνουν κατ'αμε. οἷον· καὶ τὸ ἄξιον ὅσα ἰατρὰ
χρηστέον· οἷε γὰρ ἰσὺ φανοὶ τὸν ὅτι ἐμβροχὸν
ἔξεσσι πορεῖται·

- 8 Καταμαθὼν γε μὴν ὁ Λυκούργος καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ
τῶν αἰτῶν σίτων οἱ μὲν διαπονοίμενοι εἰς χροὶ τε
καὶ εἰς σαρκοὶ καὶ εἰς ῥωσ-οὶ εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἄπολοι
—εφινσημέιοι τε καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀνα-
φαίνοινται, οἷε τοῦτον ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐννῶν,
ὅτι καὶ ὅταν αἰτὸς τις τῇ ἐπιτοῇ γνώμῃ φιλο-
ποιῇ, ἀρκοίντως τὸ σῶμα ἔχων ἀναφαίνεται.
ἐ-έταξε τὸν αἰεὶ πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῇ γυμνασίᾳ
ἐκάστω¹ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥς μὴ τόνους αἰτοῖς²
0 ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν
οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆναι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν οἷν
ῥαδίως γέ τις εὖροι Σαρτιατῶν οὔτε ὑγιεινο-
τέρους οὔτε τοῖς σώμασι χρησιμωτέρους· ὁμοίως
γὰρ ἀ-ὁ τε τῶν σκελῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ
τραχήλου γυμιάζονται.

- VI. Γιαντία γε μὴν ἔγω καὶ τάδε τοῖς
τλείστοις ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις τόλεσι τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος καὶ ταίδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ
χρημάτων ἄρχουσι· ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος κατα-
σκευάσαι βουλόμενος, ὥς ἂν μηδὲν βλάπτοιτες
ἀπολαύοιεν τι οἱ πολῖται ἀλλήλων ἀγαθόν, ἐποί-
ησε παίδων ἕκαστον ὁμοίως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
2 ἀλλοτρίων ἄρχειν. ὅταν δέ τις εἰδῇ, ὅτι οὗτοι
πατέρες εἰσὶ τῶν παίδων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχει, αἰάκη
οὕτως ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι
βούλοιτο ἢν δέ τις παῖς ποτε πληγὰς λαβὼν
ὑπ' ἄλλου κατέληπεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχροὺν

¹ ἐκάστω MSS : S reads ἐκάστων with Hermann

stay on at the table); and they must do in the dark what they do in the day. Indeed, those who are still in the army are not even allowed a torch to guide them

Lycurgus had also observed the effects of the 8 same rations on the hard worker and the idler, that the former has a fresh colour, firm flesh and plenty of vigour, while the latter looks puffy, ugly and weak. He saw the importance of this, and reflecting that even a man who works hard of his own will because it is his duty to do so, looks in pretty good condition, he required the senior for the time being in every gymnasium to take care that the tasks set should be not too small for the rations allowed. And I think 9 that in this matter too he succeeded. So it would not be easy to find healthier or handier men than the Spartans. For their exercises train the legs, arms and neck equally.

VI. In the following respects, again, his institutions differ from the ordinary type. In most states every man has control of his own children, servants and goods. Lycurgus wanted to secure that the citizens should get some advantage from one another without doing any harm. He therefore gave every father authority over other men's children as well as over his own. When a man knows that fathers 2 have this power, he is bound to rule the children over whom he exercises authority as he would wish his own to be ruled.¹ If a boy tells his own father when he has been whipped by another father, it is

¹ The text of this sentence is open to suspicion. *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος* can hardly be sound.

² The text as altered by Hug., *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος* is highly probable; the MSS. have *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος* and *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος*, and *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος* is *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος*, but this is not satisfactory.

ἔστι μὴ οὐκ ἄλλας πληγὰς ἐμβάλλειν τῷ νιεί.
οὕτω πιστεύουσιν ἀλλήλοις μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προσ-
τάττειν τοῖς παισίν.

3 Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις, εἴ τις δεηθείη, χρῆσθαι
καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. καὶ κυνῶν δὲ θηρευτικῶν
συνῆψε κοινωνίαν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν δεόμενοι παρακα-
λοῦσιν ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς σχολάζων ἡδέως
ἐκπέμπει. καὶ ἵπποις δὲ ὡσαύτως χρῶνται· ὁ
γὰρ ἀσθενήσας ἢ δεηθεὶς ὀχήματος ἢ ταχύ ποι-
βουληθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἦν που ἴδῃ ἵππον ὄντα,
λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν.

4 Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐκείνὸ γε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰθισ-
μένον ἐποίησεν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ
θήρας ὀψισθέντες δεηθῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἦν μὴ
συνεσκευασμένοι τύχωσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔθηκε τοὺς
μὲν πεπαμένους καταλείπειν τὰ πεποιημένα, τοὺς
δὲ δεομένους ἀνοίξαντας τὰ σήμαντρα, λαβόντας
ὅσων ἂν δέωνται, σημηναμένους καταλιπεῖν. τοι-
γαροῦν οὕτως μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ τὰ
μικρὰ ἔχοντες μετέχουσι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ
χώρᾳ, ὅποταν τινὸς δεηθῶσιν.

VII. Ἐναντία γε μὲν καὶ τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις
Ἕλλησι κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ
νόμιμα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ δήπου ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι
πάντες χρηματίζονται ὅσον δύνανται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
γεωργεῖ, ὁ δὲ ναυκληρεῖ, ὁ δ' ἐμπορεύεται, οἱ δὲ
2 καὶ ἀπὸ τεχνῶν τρέφονται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ ὁ
Λυκοῦργος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ χρη-
ματισμὸν ἀπέειπε μηδενὸς ἄπτεσθαι, ὅσα δὲ ἐλευ-

¹ i.e. so much of it as remained over.

a disgrace if the parent does not give his son another whipping. So completely do they trust one another not to give any improper orders to the children

He also gave the power of using other men's 3 servants in case of necessity, and made sporting dogs common property to this extent, that any who want them invite their master, and if he is engaged himself he is glad to send the hounds. A similar plan of borrowing is applied to horses also, thus a man who falls ill or wants a carriage or wishes to get to some place quickly, if he sees a horse anywhere, takes and uses it carefully and duly restores it

There is yet another among the customs instituted 4 by him which is not found in other communities. It was intended to meet the needs of parties belated in the hunting field with nothing ready to eat. He made a rule that those who had plenty should leave behind the prepared food,¹ and that those who needed food should break the seals, take as much as they wanted, seal up the rest and leave it behind. The result of this method of going shares with one another is that even those who have but little receive a share of all that the country yields whenever they want anything.

VII Nor does this exhaust the list of the customs established by Lycurgus at Sparta that are contrary to those of the other Greeks. In other states, I suppose, all men make as much money as they can. One is a farmer, another a ship owner, another a merchant, and others live by different handicrafts. But at Sparta Lycurgus forbade freeborn citizens to 2 have anything to do with business affairs. He insisted

θερίαν ταῖς πόλεσι παρασκευάζει, ταῦτα ἔταξε
 3 μόνᾳ ἔργῳ αὐτῶν ἰομίζειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τί πλοῦτος
 ἐκεῖ γε σπουδαστός, εἴθ᾽ ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτᾶσθαι τάξας ἐποίησε
 μὴ ἡδυπαθείας ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὀρέγεσθαι; ἀλλὰ
 μὴν οὐδ' ἱματίων γε ἕνεκα χρηματιστέον· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐσθίῃτος πολυτελείᾳ, ἀλλὰ σώματος εἰςξία κοσ-
 4 μοῦνται. οὐδὲ μὴν τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήτοις¹
 ἔχειν δαπανᾶν χρήματα ἀθροιστέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῷ
 σώματι ποιοῦντα ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας εὐδοξό-
 τερον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ δαπανῶντα,² ἐπιδείξας τὸ
 μὲν ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ πλούτου ἔργον.

5 Τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀδίκων χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς τοιούτοις διεκώλυσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νό-
 μισμα τοιοῦτον κατεστήσατο, ὃ δεκάμνων³ μόνον
 ἂν εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν οὔτε δεσπότης οὔτε οἰκέτας
 λάθοι· καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγω-
 6 γῆς δέοιτ' ἂν. χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἀργύριον
 ἐρευνᾶται, καὶ ἂν τί πον φανῇ, ὃ ἔχων ζημιοῦται.
 τί οὖν ἂν ἐκεῖ χρηματισμὸς σπουδάζοιτο, ἐνθα ἢ
 κτήσις πλείους λύπας ἢ ἢ χρήσις εὐφροσύνας
 παρέχει;

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μάλιστα
 πείθονται ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἴσμεν
 ἅπαντες. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐδ' ἐγχειρῆσαι οἶμαι πρό-
 τερον τὸν Λυκοῦργον ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν⁴

¹ ἕνεκα, which S. adds after συσκήτους with the MSS., was removed by Weiske.

² δαπανῶντα Morus: δαπανῶντας S. with the MSS.

³ δεκάμνων Dindorf: δέκα μνῶν S. with the MSS.

⁴ εὐταξίαν Dindorf: εὐεξίαν S. with the MSS.

on their regarding as their own concern only those activities that make for civic freedom. Indeed, 3 how should wealth be a serious object there, when he insisted on equal contributions to the food supply and on the same standard of living for all, and thus cut off the attraction of money for indulgence' sake? Why, there is not even any need of money to spend on cloaks for their adornment is due not to the price of their clothes, but to the excellent condition 4 of their bodies. Nor yet is there any reason for amassing money in order to spend it on one's mess-mates, for he made it more respectable to help one's fellows by toiling with the body than by spending money,¹ pointing out that toil is an employment of the soul, spending an employment of wealth.

By other enactments he rendered it impossible to 5 make money in unfair ways. In the first place the system of coinage that he established was of such a kind that even a sum of ten minae² could not be brought into a house without the master and the servants being aware of it: the money would fill a large space and need a wagon to draw it. Moreover, 6 there is a right of search for gold and silver, and, in the event of discovery, the possessor is fined. Why, then, should money making be a preoccupation in a state where the pains of its possession are more than the pleasures of its enjoyment?

VIII To continue: we all know that obedience to the magistrates and the laws is found in the highest degree in Sparta. For my part, however, I think that Lycurgus did not so much as attempt

² Some £40

καθιστάναι, πρὶν ὁμογνώμονας ἐποιήσατο τοὺς
 2 κρατίστους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ
 ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἱ
 δυνατώτεροι οὐδὲ βούλονται δοκεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς
 φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομίζουνσι τοῦτο ἀνελεύθερον
 εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπύρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρ-
 χονται μάλιστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινοῖ εἶναι
 μεγαλύνονται καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται τρέχοντες
 ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες ὑπακούειν, νομίζοντες, ἢν
 αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι, ἔψεσθαι
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται.

3 Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς
 αὐτοὺς τούτους συγκατασκευάσαι, ἐπεὶ περ ἔγνω-
 σαν τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν
 πόλει καὶ ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ· ὅσω γὰρ μείζω
 δύναμιν ἔχοι¹ ἢ ἀρχή, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἡγή-
 σαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξειν τοὺς πολίτας τοῦ
 4 ὑπακούειν. ἔφοροι οὖν ἱκανοὶ μὲν εἰσι ζημιοῦν
 ὃν ἂν βούλωνται, κύριοι δ' ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα,
 κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας μεταξὺ καταπαῦσαι² καὶ
 εἰρξαί γε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα κατα-
 στήσαι. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐχ
 ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐῷσι τοὺς αἰρεθέντας αἰεὶ
 ἄρχειν τὸ ἔτος ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
 ἐπιστάται, ἢν τινα αἰσθάνωνται παρανομοῦντά
 τι, εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι.

5 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων μηχανημάτων
 καλῶν τῷ Λυκούργῳ εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις

¹ ἔχει Dindorf: ἔχει S. with MSS

² καταπαῦσαι Stobaeus: καὶ καταπαῦσαι S. with the MSS.

to introduce this habit of discipline until he had secured agreement among the most important men in the state I base my inference on the following 2 facts In other states the most powerful citizens do not even wish it to be thought that they fear the magistrates they believe such fear to be a badge of slavery But at Sparta the most important men show the utmost deference to the magistrates they pride themselves on their humility, on running instead of walking to answer any call, in the belief that, if they lead, the rest will follow along the path of eager obedience And so it has proved

It is probable also that these same citizens helped 3 to set up the office of Ephor, having come to the conclusion that obedience is a very great blessing whether in a state or an army or a household For they thought that the greater the power of these magistrates the more they would impress the minds of the citizens¹ Accordingly, the Ephors are com 4 petent to fine whom they choose, and have authority to enact immediate payment they have authority also to deprive the magistrates of office, and even to imprison and prefer a capital charge against them Possessing such wide power they do not, like other states, leave persons elected to office to rule as they like throughout the year, but in common with despots and the presidents of the games, they no sooner see anyone breaking the law than they punish the offender

Among many excellent plans contrived by Lycur 5 gus for encouraging willing obedience to the laws

¹ τοῦ ὑπακούειν is omitted in the translation It can hardly be right, Schneider removed it, and Cobet proposed εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν, "so as to make them obedient."

ἐθέλειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε τῷ πλήθει τοὺς νόμους, πρὶν ἐλθὼν σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο τὸν θεόν, εἰ λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένη οἷς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεῖλε τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι, τότε ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἄνομον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόσιον θεὸς τὸ πυθοχρήστοις νόμοις μὴ πείθεσθαι.

IX. Ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τόδε ἀγασθῆναι, τὸ κατεργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπισκοπῶν τις ἂν εὔροι μείους ἀποθνήσκοντας τούτων ἢ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ
 2 ἀποχωρεῖν αἰρουμένων. ὥς τὰληθες εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ τὸ¹ σῶζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ κακίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ῥᾶων καὶ ἡδίων καὶ εὐπορωτέρα καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐκλεια μάλιστα ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν πῶς πάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βούλονται.

3 Ἡ μὲντοι ὥστε ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι ἐμηχανήσατο, καὶ τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν σαφῶς παρεσκεύασε τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν,
 4 τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακοδαιμονίαν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁπόταν τις κακὸς γένηται, ἐπὶ κλησιν μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τὰγαθῷ καὶ κάθηται καὶ γυμνάζεται, ἐὰν βούληται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πᾶς

¹ τὸ added by Morus: S. omits with the MSS.

¹ Herodotus I. 65.

among the citizens, I think one of the most excellent was this: before delivering his laws to the people he paid a visit to Delphi,¹ accompanied by the most important citizens, and inquired of the god whether it was desirable and better for Sparta that she should obey the laws that he himself had framed. Only when the god answered that it was better in every way did he deliver them, after enacting that to refuse obedience to laws given by the Pythian god was not only unlawful, but wicked.

IX The following achievement of Lycurgus, again, deserves admiration. He caused his people to choose an honourable death in preference to a disgraceful life. And, in fact, one would find on consideration that they actually lose a smaller proportion of their men than those who prefer to retire from the danger zone. To tell the truth, escape ² from premature death more generally goes with valour than with cowardice: for valour is actually easier and pleasanter and more resourceful and mightier². And obviously glory adheres to the side of valour, for all men want to ally themselves somehow with the brave.

However, it is proper not to pass over the means ³ by which he contrived to bring about this result. Clearly, what he did was to ensure that the brave should have happiness, and the coward misery. For ⁴ in other states when a man proves a coward, the only consequence is that he is called a coward. He goes to the same market as the brave man, sits beside him, attends the same gymnasium, if he chooses. But in Lacedaemon everyone would be ashamed to

¹ The sentiment is taken from Tyrtæus

μὲν ἂν τις αἰσχυνθεῖη τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παρα-
 λαβεῖν, πᾶς δ' ἂν ἐν παλαίσματι συγγυμναστήν.
 5 πολλάκις δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ διαιρουμένων τοὺς
 ἀντισφαιριούντας ἀχώριστος περιγίγνεται καὶ ἐν
 χοροῖς δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπονιδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύ-
 νεται, καὶ μὴν ἐν ὁδοῖς παραχωρητέον αὐτῷ καὶ
 ἐν θάκοις καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπαναστατέον, καὶ
 τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἴκοι θρεπτέον καὶ
 ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρείας¹ αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον, γυναι-
 κὸς δὲ κενὴν ἐστίαν περιοπτέον² καὶ ἅμα τούτου
 ζημίαν ἀποτιστέον, λιπαρὸν δὲ οὐ πλανητέον
 οὐδὲ μιμητέον τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτους, ἣ πληγὰς ὑπὸ
 6 τῶν ἀμεινόνων ληπτέον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης
 τοῖς κακοῖς ἀτιμίας ἐπικειμένης οὐδὲν θαυμάζω
 τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως
 ἀτίμου τε καὶ ἐπονιδίστου βίου.

X. Καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Λυκούργος νομοθε-
 τῆσαι καὶ ἡ μέχρι γήρως ἀσκοῖτ' ἂν ἀρετῇ. ἐπὶ
 γὰρ τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γερον-
 τίας προσθεὶς ἐποίησε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ ἀμελεῖ-
 2 σθαι τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν. ἀξιάγαστον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 τὸ ἐπικουρῆσαι τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γήρᾳ· θεὸς γὰρ
 τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶ-
 νος διέπραξεν ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τὸ γῆρας τῆς
 3 τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης. εἰκότως δέ τοι καὶ
 σπουδάζεται οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων. καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ γυμνικοί· ἀλλ'
 οὗτοι μὲν σωμάτων εἰσὶν· ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας
 ἀγὼν ψυχῶν ἀγαθῶν κρίσιν παρέχει. ὅσω οὖν
 κρείττων ψυχὴ σώματος, τοσούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες

¹ ἀνδρείας S. with the better MSS.

have a coward with him at the mess or to be matched with him in a wrestling bout. Often when sides are picked for a game of ball he is the odd man left out: in the chorus he is banished to the ignominious place, in the streets he is bound to make way: when he occupies a seat he must needs give it up, even to a junior; he must support his spinster relatives at home and must explain to them why they are old maids: he must make the best of a fireside without a wife, and yet pay forfeit for that: he may not stroll about with a cheerful countenance, nor behave as though he were a man of unsullied fame, or else he must submit to be beaten by his betters. Small wonder, I think, that where such a load of dishonour is laid on the coward, death seems preferable to a life so dishonoured, so ignominious.

X. The law by which Lycurgus encouraged the practice of virtue up to old age is another excellent measure in my opinion. By requiring men to face the ordeal of election to the Council of Elders near the end of life, he prevented neglect of high principles even in old age. Worthy of admiration also is the protection that he afforded to the old age of good men. For the enactment by which he made the Pleiæan judges in the contest for the Council of Elders to be held in the world this should excite the greatest zeal. For noble as are the contests in the Games, they are merely tests of bodily powers. But the contest for the Council judges souls whether they be good. As much then, as the soul survives the body, so

* *superior Dialects of the Lycurgus with the 1st 1st 1st*

οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀξιοσπουδαστότεροι.

4 Τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Λυκούργου πῶς οὐ μέγαλως ἄξιον ἀγασθῆναι ; ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν, ὅτι ὅπου¹ οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελοῦνται² τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν, ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἠνάγκασε δημοσίᾳ πάντα πάσας ἀσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς. ὥσπερ οὖν ἰδιῶται ἰδιωτῶν διαφέρουσιν ἀρετῇ οἱ ἀσκοῦντες τῶν ἀμελούντων, οὕτως καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη εἰκότως πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀρετῇ διαφέρει, μόνῃ δημοσίᾳ ἐπιτηδεύουσα τὴν
5 καλοκάγαθίαν. οὐ γὰρ κακὸν καλόν, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων κολαζουσῶν, ἦν τίς τι ἕτερος ἕτερον ἀδικῇ, ἐκείνον ζημίας μὴ ἐλάττους ἐπιθεῖναι, εἴ τις φανερὸς εἴη ἀμελῶν τοῦ ὡς βέλτιστος εἶναι ; ἐνόμιζε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν
6 ἀνδραποδιζομένων τινὰς ἢ ἀποστερούντων τι ἢ κλεπτόντων τοὺς βλαπτομένους μόνον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων ὅλας τὰς πόλεις προδίδοσθαι. ὥστε εἰκότως ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τούτοις μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθεῖναι.

7 Ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην ἀσκεῖν ἅπασαν πολιτικὴν ἀρετήν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκτελοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἅπασιν τὴν πόλιν οἰκείαν ἐποίησε καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπελογίσατο οὔτε σωμάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἀσθένειαν· εἰ δέ τις ἀποδειλιάσειε τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τοῦτον ἐκείνος ἀπέδειξε μὴδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι.

8 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὗτοι οἱ νόμοι

¹ ὅτι ἔστιν ὅπου S. with Moruz.

εἰσί, σαφές· ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται γενέσθαι· οὕτω δὲ παλαιοὶ ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καινότατοί εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.

XI. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ· εἰ δέ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν, ὅ τι καὶ εἰς τὰς στρατείας βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ἐμνηχανήσατο, ἔξεστι καὶ τούτων ἀκούειν.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οἱ ἔφοροι προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη, εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεῦεσθαι καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις· ὥστε ὅσοισπερ ἐπὶ πόλεως χρῶνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντων τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐποροῦσι· καὶ ὅσα δὲ ὀργάνων ἢ στρατιᾷ κοινῇ δεηθεῖν ἂν, ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἀμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγίῳ· οὕτω γὰρ ἦκιστ' ἂν τὸ ἐκλείπον διαλάβοι.

3 Εἰς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ' ἐμνηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἦκιστα μὲν γυναικεῖα κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δ' εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται καὶ σχολαιότατα ρυπαίνεται. ἐφῆκε δὲ καὶ κομᾶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ μείζους ἂν καὶ ἐλευθεριωτέρους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι.

4 Οὕτω γε μὴν κατεσκευασμένων μόρας μὲν διεῖλεν ἕξ καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν. ἐκάστη δὲ

¹ The words καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα should probably come before καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα. There is also a suspicion that some words

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can be no doubt - for Lycurgus is said to have lived in the days of the Heracleidae. Nevertheless, in spite of their antiquity, they are wholly strange to others even at this day. Indeed, it is most astonishing that all men praise such institutions, but no state chooses to imitate them.

XI The blessings that I have enumerated so far were shared by all alike in peace and in war. But if anyone wishes to discover in what respect Lycurgus' organisation of the army on active service was better than other systems, here is the information that he seeks.

The Ephors issue a proclamation stating the age ² limit fixed for the levy, first for the cavalry and infantry, and then for the handicraftsmen. Thus the Lacedaemonians are well supplied in the field with all things that are found useful in civil life. All the implements that an army may require in common are ordered to be assembled, some in carts, some on baggage animals, thus anything missing is not at all likely to be overlooked.

In the equipment that he devised for the troops ³ in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly ¹. He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying.

The men so equipped were divided into six ⁴ regiments of cavalry and infantry. The officers of referring to other details of the equipment have dropped out.

μέτωπον παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι, καὶ διὰ παν-
 τὸς οὕτως, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ φύλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῇ.
 ἦν γε μὴν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν οἱ πολέ-
 μιοι ἐπιφανῶσιν, ἐξελίττεται ἕκαστος ὁ στίχος,
 ἵνα οἱ κράτιστοι ἐναντίοι αἰὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὦσιν.
 9 ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ
 μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκ-
 τεῖν. εἰ γάρ τινες κυκλοῦσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν, οὐκ
 ἂν κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὥπλισμένα
 περιβάλλοιεν ἄν. ἦν δέ ποτε ἕνεκά τινος δοκῇ
 συμφέρειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχειν, στρέ-
 ψαντες τὸ ἄγλημα ἐπὶ κέρας ἐξελίττουσι τὴν
 φύλαγγα, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ μὲν ἡγεμὼν δεξιὸς ᾖ, ἡ δὲ
 10 οὐρὰ εὐώνυμος γένηται. ἦν δ' αὖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν
 πολεμίων τάξεις ἐπιφαίνεται ἐπὶ κέρως πορευο-
 μένων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύοντάι ἢ τὸν λόχον
 ἕκαστον ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις
 στρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὖ γίγνεται ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν
 λόχος παρὰ δόρυ. ἦν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα
 πολέμιοι προσίωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐῷσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπω-
 θοῦσιν ἢ ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλοις τοὺς λόχους στρέ-
 φουσι καὶ οὕτως αὖ ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρ'
 ἀσπίδα καθίσταται.

XII. Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐνόμισε
 χρῆναι Λυκοῦργος.

Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ τετραγώνου

¹ i. e. this was the regular plan, because each of two battle lines advancing to meet one another always tended to converge to the right. See Thucydides, v. 71.

second lieutenant to deploy into line to the left, and so throughout the column until the battle line stands facing the enemy. Or again, if the enemy appears in the rear while they are in this formation, each file counter marches in order that the best men may always be face to face with the enemy. True, the leader is then on the left, but instead of 0 thinking this a disadvantage, they regard it as a positive advantage at times. For should the enemy attempt a flanking movement he would try to encircle them, not on the exposed but on the protected side¹. If, however, it seems better for any reason that the leader should be on the right wing, the left wing wheels, and the army counter marches by ranks until the leader is on the right, and the rear of the column on the left. If, on the other hand, an enemy 10 force appears on the right when they are marching in column, all that they have to do is to order each company to wheel to the right so as to front the enemy like a man of war, and thus again the company at the rear of the column is on the right. If again an enemy approaches on the left, they do not allow that either, but either push him back² or wheel their companies to the left to face him, and thus the rear of the column finds itself on the left.

XII I will now explain the method of encampment approved by Lycurgus.

Seeing that the angles of a square are useless, he

¹ This can only mean that if the Lacedaemonians are in battle order the whole phalanx turns to the left to meet the attack when the enemy comes to the left wing. It may be necessary when the army is marching in column and is threatened on the left. But this would mean that the whole army would run forward, which is almost certainly the right idea.

ἀχρήστοις εἶναι εἰς κίελον ἐστρατο-εδεῖσατο.
 εἰ μὴ ὄρος ὑψηλὸς εἴη ἢ τεῖχος ἢ τοπαμὸν
 2 ὅ-ισθεν ἔχοιεν. φυλακὴς γε μὴν ἐποίησε
 μετ' ἡμερῶς τῆς μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὕψη εἶσω
 βλέ-οίσας· οὐ γὰρ πολεμίων εἶεκα ἀλλὰ φίλων
 αἶ-αι καλίσταται· τοῖς γε μὴν πολεμίοις
 ἰ-εῖς φιλιέ-ουσι ἀ-ὸ χωρίω ὦν ἂν ἐκ
 3 -λείστου προσρῶεν. εἰ δέ τις προσοί¹ νύκτωρ
 ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἐτόμισεν ὑ-ὸ Σκιριτῶν προ-
 φυλάττεσθαι· ἰὺν δ' ἤδη καὶ ὑ-ὸ ξένων ἦν
 4 τύχῳσιν² αὐτῶν τιμὴς συμ-αρόντες. τὸ δὲ
 ἔχοντας τὰ δόρατα ἀεὶ -ερμείαι, εὖ καὶ τοῦτο
 δεῖ εἰδῆναι ὅτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶεκα ἐστὶν οὐ-ερ
 καὶ τοὺς δαύλους εἰργουσι ἀ-ὸ τῶν ὅ-λων
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀ-ιόντας οὐ δεῖ
 θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὔτε ἀλλήλων οὔτε τῶν ὅτλων
 τλέον ἢ ὅσον μὴ λυτεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀ-έρχονται·
 καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ὑσφαλείας εἶεκα ποιοῦσι.

5 Μεταστρατοπεδεύονταί γε μὴν πυκνὰ καὶ τοῦ
 σίνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἶεκα καὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν
 τοὺς φίλους

Καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑ-ὸ τοῦ
 νόμου ἅπασιν Ἀκεδαιμονίοις, ἕωςπερ ἂν στρατεύ-
 ωνται· ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ'
 ἑαυτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ἐλευθεριωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
 φαίνεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ οὔτε περίπατον οὔτε δρόμον
 μάσσῳ ποιεῖσθαι ἢ ὅσον ἂν ἡ μόρα ἐφήκη, ὅπως
 6 μηδεὶς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὅπλων πόρρῳ γίγνηται, μετὰ
 δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια καθίζει μὲν ὁ πρῶτος πολέ-

¹ προσοί Madvig· προοί S. with the MSS. S. places a comma after φάλαγγος.

introduced the circular form of camp, except where there was a secure hill or wall, or a river afforded protection in the rear. He caused sentries to be 2 posted by day facing inwards along the place where the arms were kept, for the object of these is to keep an eye not on the enemy but on their friends. The enemy is watched by cavalry from positions that command the widest outlook. To meet the 3 case of a hostile approach at night, he assigned the duty of acting as sentries outside the lines to the *Sciritae*. In these days the duty is shared by foreigners, if any happen to be present in the camp. The rule that patrols invariably carry their spears, 4 has the same purpose, undoubtedly, as the exclusion of slaves from the place of arms. Nor is it surprising that sentries who withdraw for necessary purposes only go so far away from one another and from the arms as not to cause inconvenience. Safety is the first object of this rule also.

The camp is frequently shifted with the double 5 object of annoying their enemies and of helping their friends.

Moreover the law requires all Lacedaemonians to practise gymnastics regularly throughout the campaign, and the result is that they take more pride in themselves and have a more dignified appearance than other men. Neither walk nor race course may exceed in length the space covered by the regiment, so that no one may get far away from his own arms. After the exercises the senior 6 colonel gives the order by herald to sit down—this

* *ἢ τὴν ῥύχασιν* is added by Ruehl. S. reads *abundant of rivers* with Hermann.

μαρχος κηρύττει· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξέτασις·
ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὑριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ταχὺ τὸν πρό-
σκοπον ὑπολύεσθαι· ἐκ τούτου δ' αὖ διατριβαὶ
καὶ ἀναπαύσεις πρὸ τῶν ἐσπερινῶν γυμνασίων.
7 μετὰ γὰρ μὴν ταῦτα δεῖπνοποιεῖσθαι κηρύττεται,
καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἄσωσιν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷς ἂν κεκαλλιε-
ρηκότες ὦσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπαύεσθαι.

“Ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ γράφω, οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν·
ἤκιστα γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις εὖροι ἂν τις παρα-
λελειμμένα ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὅσα δεῖ
ἐπιμελείας.

XIII. Διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ ἣν ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὁ
Λυκούργος βασιλεῖ δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν παρε-
σκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς τρέφει
ἡ πόλις βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· συσκηνοῦσι
δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅπως αἰεὶ συνόντες μᾶλλον
καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἣν τι δέωνται· συσκηνοῦσι
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι
τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,
ὥς μηδεμία ὑσχολία ἢ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

2 Ἐπαναλήψομαι δέ, ὥς ἐξορμᾶται σὺν στρατιᾷ
ὁ βασιλεὺς. θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ὧν Διὶ
ἀγήτορι καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ· ἣν δὲ ἐνταῦθα
καλλιερῆσῃ, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ
βωμοῦ προηγείται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· ὁ δὲ
3 βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ. ὅταν
δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτοις τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῇ, τότε

¹ Or, if we read οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ with Haase, “he and his staff.” By “the associated gods” we should understand

is their method of inspection—and next to take breakfast and to relieve the outposts quickly. After this there are amusements and recreations until the evening exercises. These being finished, the herald 7 gives the order to take the evening meal, and, as soon as they have sung to the praise of the gods to whom they have sacrificed with good omens, to rest by the arms.

Let not the length to which I run occasion surprise, for it is almost impossible to find any detail in military matters requiring attention that is overlooked by the Lacedaemonians.

XIII. I will also give an account of the power and honour that Lycurgus conferred on the King in the field. In the first place, while on military service the King and his staff are maintained by the state. The colonels mess with the King, in order that constant intercourse may give better opportunities for taking counsel together in case of need. Three of the peers also attend the King's mess. These three take entire charge of the commissariat for the King and his staff, so that these may devote all their time to affairs of war.

But I will go back to the beginning, and explain 2 how the King sets out with an army. First he offers up sacrifice at home to Zeus the Leader and to the gods associated with him.¹ If the sacrifice appears propitious, the Fire-bearer takes fire from the altar and leads the way to the borders of the land. There the King offers sacrifice again to Zeus and Athena. Only when the sacrifice proves 3 acceptable to both these deities does he cross the

Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri. In the Oxford text I gave *τῶν δίδυμων*, "the twin gods."

διαβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ -ἱρ μὲν
 ἂ-ο -ούτων τῶν ἱερῶν -ροηγεί-αι οὗ-ο-ε ἂ-ο
 σβειιύμειον, σφάγια δὲ -αιτοῖα ἔ-εται ἀεὶ δὲ
 ὅταν θύηται, ἄρχεται μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἔ-
 κιεφαῖος, -ρολαμβάειν βουλόμειος τὴν τοῦ θεοῖ
 4 εὐνοιαί. -άρεισι δὲ -ερὶ τὴν θυσίαι -ολέμαρχοι,
 λοχαγοί, -εν-ηκοιτῆρες, ξείων στρα-ίαρχοι
 στρα-οῦ σκευοφορικοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ -ῶν ἂ-ὸ
 5 τῶν -όλεων δὲ στρα-ηγῶν ο βουλόμειος· -άρεισι
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ -ολυτραγμονοῦσι μὲν
 οὐδέν, ἣν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς -ροσκαλῇ· ὀρῶντες δὲ
 ὁ τι -οιεῖ ἕκαστος -άντας σωφροίζουσι, ὥς
 τὸ εἰκός. ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ἱερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς
 -ροσκαλέσας -άιτας παραγγέλλει τὰ -οιητέα
 ὥστε ὀρῶν ταῦτα ἡγήσαιο ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοις
 αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Ἄακε
 δαιμοίους δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας -ῶν
 πολεμικῶν
 6 Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἡγήται βασιλεὺς, ἣν μὲν
 μηδεὶς ἐναντίος φαίνεται, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ -ρόσθαι
 -ορεύεται τλὴν Σκιρίται καὶ οἱ -ροερενιώμενοι
 ἱ-ττεῖς· ἣν δέ ποτε μάχην οἶωνται ἔσεσθαι, λαβὼν
 τὸ ἄγημα τῆς τρωτῆς μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει
 στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν
 7 μόραιν καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχων. οὗς δὲ δεῖ ἐ-
 του-οις τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ
 δαμοσίαν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὅσοι ἂν
 σύσκηνοι ᾧσι -ῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ μάντεις καὶ ἱατροὶ
 καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ¹ οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχον-ες, καὶ
 ἐθελούσιοι ἦν τινες παρῶσι ὥστε τῶν δεομέωι
 γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἂπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀτρό-
 σκεπτόν ἐστι.

borders of the land And the fire from these sacrifices leads the way and is never quenched, and animals for sacrifice of every sort follow At all times when he offers sacrifice, the King begins the work before dawn of day, wishing to forestall the goodwill of the god And at the sacrifice are assembled colonels, 4 captains, lieutenants, commandants of foreign contingents, commanders of the baggage train, and, in addition, any general from the states who chooses to be present There are also present two of the 5 Ephors, who interfere in nothing except by the King's request, but keep an eye on the proceedings, and see that all behave with a decorum suitable to the occasion When the sacrifices are ended, the King summons all and delivers the orders of the day And so, could you watch the scene, you would think all other men mere improvisors in soldiering and the Lacedaemonians the only artists in warfare

When the King leads, provided that no enemy 6 appears, no one precedes him except the Sciritae and the mounted vedettes But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels The troops that 7 are to support these are marshalled by the senior member of the King's staff The staff consists of all peers who are members of the royal mess, seers, doctors, fluteplayers, commanding officers and any volunteers who happen to be present Thus nothing that has to be done causes any difficulty, for everything is duly provided for

¹ *and* added by Zeune S omits with the MSS

- 8 Μάλα δὲ καὶ τάδε ὠφέλιμα, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐμηχανήσατο Λυκούργος εἰς τὸν ἐν ὄτλοις ἀγῶνα. ὅταν γὰρ ὁρώιτων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζεται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ λαμπρύνεσθαι προαγορεύεται. ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ¹ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ παιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον.
- 9 καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ· οὐδ' ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκάστην πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω· ὅπως δὲ καλῶς γίγνηται, πολεμάρχῳ δεῖ μέλειν.
- 10 "Όταν γε μὴν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τούτου μὲν κύριος βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ δεῖξαι γε, ὅπου δεῖ· τὸ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ φιλίας καὶ πολεμίας, τοῦτ' οὐ² βασιλέως. καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν
- 11 βούλωνται πράξαι τι. ἦν δ' οὖν δίκης δεόμενός τις ἔλθῃ, πρὸς ἑλλανοδίκας τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς ταμίας, ἦν δὲ ληίδα ἄγων, πρὸς λαφυροπώλας. οὕτω δὲ πραττομένων βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον καταλείπεται ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς ἢ ἱερεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι, στρατηγῷ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

XIV. Εἰ δέ τις με ἔροιτο, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι

¹ κεκριμένῳ is somehow wrong Weiske proposed καὶ κόμην διακεκριμένῳ after Plutarch, *Lyc.* 22. εὐδόκιμον also comes in oddly as the text stands Probably some words are lost either before παιδρὸν or after εὐδόκιμον.

² οὐ Weiske αὖ S with the MSS.

The following arrangements¹ made by Lycurgus 8 with a view to the actual fighting are also, in my opinion, very useful. When a goat is sacrificed, the enemy being near enough to see, custom ordains that all the fluteplayers present are to play and every Lacedaemonian is to wear a wreath. An order is also given to polish arms. It is also the privilege of the young warrior to comb his hair (?) before entering battle, to look cheerful and earn a good report. Moreover, the men shout words of encourage- 9 ment to the subaltern, for it is impossible for each subaltern to make his voice travel along the whole of his section to the far end². The colonel is responsible for seeing that all is done properly.

When the time for encamping seems to have 10 arrived, the decision rests with the King, who also indicates the proper place. On the other hand the dispatch of embassies whether to friends or enemies is not the King's affair. All who have any business to transact deal in the first instance with the King. Suitors for justice are remitted by the 11 King to the Court of Hellanodicae, applications for money to the treasurers, and if anyone brings booty, he is sent to the auctioneers. With this routine the only duties left to the King on active service are to act as priest in matters of religion and as general in his dealings with the men.

XIV Should anyone ask me whether I think

¹ This paragraph is an afterthought, supplementing c xi 3-4

² When two or more sections are abreast (c xi 4) the men take up and repeat the exhortations of the subaltern posted at the end of the line, and pass them along to the next subaltern, and so on. These detached notes are not clearly expressed.

δοκοῦσιν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν,
 2 τοῦτο μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἂν ἔτι θρασέως εἴποιμι. οἶδα
 γὰρ πρότερον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους αἵρουμένους
 οἴκοι τὰ μέτρια ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι μᾶλλον
 ἢ ἁρμόζοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κολακευομένους
 3 διαφθείρεσθαι. καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν οἶδα αὐτοὺς
 φοβουμένους χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι· νῦν δ'
 ἔστιν οὓς καὶ καλλωπιζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτῆσθαι.
 4 ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν τούτου ἔνεκα ξενηλα-
 σίας γιγνομένας καὶ ἀποδημεῖν οὐκ ἐξόν, ὅπως
 μὴ ῥαδιουργίας οἱ πολῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων ἐμπί-
 πλαιντο· νῦν δ' ἐπίσταμαι τοὺς δοκοῦντας
 πρῶτους εἶναι ἐσπουδακότας, ὥς μηδέποτε
 5 παύωνται ἁρμόζοντες ἐπὶ ξένης. καὶ ἦν μὲν
 ὅτε ἐπεμελοῦντο, ὅπως ἄξιοι εἶεν ἡγεῖσθαι· νῦν
 δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται, ὅπως ἄρξουσιν
 6 ἢ ὅπως ἄξιοι τούτου ἔσονται. τοιγαροῦν οἱ
 Ἕλληνες πρότερον μὲν ἰόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
 ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας
 ἀδικεῖν· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους
 7 ἐπὶ τὸ διακωλύειν ἄρξαι πάλιν αὐτούς. οὐδὲν
 μέντοι δεῖ θανμάζειν τούτων τῶν ἐπιψόγων αὐτοῖς
 γιγνομένων, ἐπειδὴ φανεροί εἰσιν οὔτε τῷ θεῷ
 πειθόμενοι οὔτε τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις.

XV. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἄς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν
 πόλιν συνθήκας ὁ Λυκούργος ἐποίησε διηγῆσα-
 σθαι· μόνη γὰρ δὴ αὕτη ἀρχὴ διατελεῖ οἷα περ
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστάθη· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας

that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this day, I certainly could not say that with any confidence whatever ¹ For I know that formerly the 2 Lacedaemonians preferred to live together at home with moderate fortunes rather than expose themselves to the corrupting influences of flattery as governors of dependent states And I know too 3 that in former days they were afraid to be found in possession of gold, whereas nowadays there are some who even boast of their possessions There 4 were alien acts in former days, and to live abroad was illegal, and I have no doubt that the purpose of these regulations was to keep the citizens from being demoralized by contact with foreigners, and now I have no doubt that the fixed ambition of those who are thought to be first among them is to live to their dying day as governors in a foreign land There was a time when they would fain be worthy of 5 leadership, but now they strive far more earnestly to exercise rule than to be worthy of it. Therefore in 6 times past the Greeks would come to Lacedaemon and beg her to lead them against reputed wrong doers, but now many are calling on one another to prevent a revival of Lacedaemonian supremacy Yet we need not wonder if these reproaches are 7 levelled at them, since it is manifest that they obey neither their god nor the laws of Lycurgus

XV I wish also to give an account of the compact made by Lycurgus between king and state For this is the only government that continues exactly as it was originally established, whereas

¹ etc. It probably does not correspond to "no longer" here. On this chapter see Introduction.

εὖροι ἂν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας.

- 2 Ἐθῆκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα, ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ στρατιὰν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἡγεῖσθαι.
- 3 ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ γέρα ὑπὸ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν καὶ γῆν τε ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων ἀπέδειξεν ἐξαίρετον τοσαύτην, ὥστε μήτ' ἐνδεῖσθαι
- 4 τῶν μετρίων μήτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν. ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρία γε ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλοιντο.
- 5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἑκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι, οἳ δὴ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πασῶν τῶν συῶν ὑπὸ τόκου χοῖρον λαμβάνειν, ὡς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν, ἣν τι δεηθῇ θεοῖς συμβουλευσασθαι.
- 6 Καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη ὕδατος ἀφθονίαν παρέχει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον, οἳ μὴ ἔχοντες αὐτὸ μᾶλλον γιγνώσκουσι. καὶ ἔδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ πλήν οὐκ
- 7 ἔφοροι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων. καὶ ὅρκους δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται, ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν.
- 8 Αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι¹ ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρειν τῶν ἰδι-

¹ S., following Cobet, regards οἴκοι as spurious.

other constitutions will be found to have undergone and still to be undergoing modifications

He ordained that the King shall offer all the 2 public sacrifices on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an army, he shall be its leader. He also gave him the right to 3 receive certain parts of the beasts sacrificed, and assigned to him enough choice land in many of the outlanders' cities to ensure him a reasonable com- 4
 In order that even 4
 d to them
 a public mess tent, he also furnished them with a double portion at the meal, not that they might eat enough for two, but that they might have the wherewithal to honour anyone whom they chose. He also allowed each King to choose two mess 5 mates, who are called Pythi. Further, he granted them to take of every litter of pigs a porker, that a King may never want victims, in case he wishes to seek counsel of the gods

A lake near the house supplies abundance of water, 6 and how useful that is for many purposes none know so well as those who are without it. Further, all rise from their seats when the King appears, only the Ephors do not rise from their official chairs. And 7 they exchange oaths monthly, the Ephors on behalf of the state, the King for himself. And this is the King's oath "I will reign according to the established laws of the state." And this the oath of the state "While you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken

These then are the honours that are bestowed on 8 the King at home during his lifetime, and they do

XENOPHON

ωτικῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
 τυραννικὸν φρονημα παραστήσαι οὔτε τοῖς πολί-
 ταις φθόνον ἐμποιῆσαι τῆς δυνάμεως. αἱ δὲ
 τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇ δὲ
 βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι, ὅτι οὐχ
 ὡς αἱ θρόνους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίῳ
 βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

¹ Herodotus (vi 58) gives details of these honours. The elaborate funeral obsequies were attended by a great concourse of men and women from all parts of Laconia. A man and a woman in every family were compelled to go into

THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xv 8-9

not greatly exceed those of private persons For it was not the wish of Lycurgus to put into the Kings' hearts despotic pride, nor to implant in the mind of the citizens envy of their power As for the 9 honours assigned to the King at his death, the intention of the laws of Lycurgus herein is to show that they have preferred the Kings of the Lacedaemonians in honour not as mere men, but as demigods¹

mourning If a king died on foreign service his body was embalmed and brought home if possible, if not, an image of him, as in the case of Agesilaus was buried

WAYS AND MEANS

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΙ

Ι. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτο αἰεὶ ποτε νομίζω, ὅποιοί τινες ἂν οἱ προστάται ᾧσι, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότων ἐλέγοντό τινες ὡς γινώσκουσι μὲν τὸ δίκαιον οὐδενὸς ἥττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πενίαν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἔφασαν ἀδικώτεροι εἶναι περὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἐπεχείρησα σκοπεῖν, εἴ πῃ δύναιτ' ἂν οἱ πολῖται διατρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ὅθενπερ καὶ δικαιοτάτον, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἅμα τῇ τε πενίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπικεκουρῆσθαι ἂν καὶ τῷ ὑπόπτους τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι.

2 Σκοποῦντι δὴ μοι ἃ ἐπενόησα τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνεφαίνετο, ὅτι ἡ χώρα πέφυκεν οἷα πλείστας προσόδους παρέχεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ γνωσθῇ, ὅτι ἀληθὲς τοῦτο λέγω, πρῶτον διηγήσομαι τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

3 Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν τὰς ὥρας ἐνθάδε πρασιότατας εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα μαρτυρεῖ· ἃ γοῦν πολλαχοῦ οὐδὲ βλαστάνειν δύναιτ' ἂν, ἐνθάδε καρποφορεῖ. ὥσπερ δὲ ἡ γῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν χώραν θάλαττα παμφορωτάτη ἐστί. καὶ μὴν ὅσαπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὥραις ἀγαθὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνταῦθα πρωιαίτατα
4 μὲν ἄρχεται, ὀψιαίτατα δὲ λήγει. οὐ μόνον δὲ κρατεῖ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν θάλλουσίν τε καὶ γηράσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδία ἀγαθὰ ἔχει ἡ

WAYS AND MEANS

I For my part I have always held that the constitution of a state reflects the character of the leading politicians¹ But some of the leading men at Athens have stated that they recognize justice as clearly as other men, "but, they have said, "owing to the poverty of the masses, we are forced to be somewhat unjust in our treatment of the cities." This set me thinking whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely from their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way I felt that, were this so, they would be relieved of their poverty, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world

Now as I thought over my ideas, one thing² seemed clear at once that the country is by its nature capable of furnishing an ample revenue To drive home the truth of this statement I will first describe the natural properties of Attica

The extreme mildness of the seasons here is shown³ by the actual products At any rate, plants that will not even grow in many countries bear fruit here Not less productive than the land is the sea around the coasts Notice too that the good things which the gods send in their season all come in earlier here and go out later than elsewhere And the pre⁴ eminence of the land is not only in the things that bloom and wither annually she has other good things

¹ See Introduction.

χώρα. πέφυκε μὲν γὰρ λίθος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄφθονος, ἐξ οὗ κάλλιστοι μὲν ναοί, κάλλιστοι δὲ βωμοὶ γίγνονται, εὐπρεπέστατα δὲ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα· πολλοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι
 5 προσδέονται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γῆ ἡ σπειρομένη μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν, ὀρυττομένη δὲ πολλαπλασίους τρέφει ἢ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. καὶ μὴν ὑπάργυρός ἐστι σαφῶς θεία μοῖρα· πολλῶν γοῦν πόλεων παροικουσῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς οὐδεμίαν τούτων οὐδὲ μικρὰ φλὲψ ἀργυρίτιδος διήκει.

6 Οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως δέ τις οἰηθείη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα οἰκεῖσθαι¹ τὴν πόλιν. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν τινες πλείον ἀπέχωσιν αὐτῆς, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ ψύχεσιν ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ὅπόσοι τ' ἂν αὐ βουλευθῶσιν ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἔσχατα ἀφικέσθαι, πάντες οὗτοι ὥσπερ κύκλου τόρνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἢ παραπλέουσιν ἢ παρέρχονται.
 7 καὶ μὴν οὐ περίρρυτός γε οὐσα ὅμως ὥσπερ νῆσος πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις προσάγεται τε ὦν δεῖται καὶ ἀποπέμπεται ἢ βούλεται· ἀμφιθάλαττος γάρ ἐστι. καὶ κατὰ γῆν δὲ πολλὰ
 8 δέχεται ἐμπορίᾳ² ἡπειρος γάρ ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις πόλεσι βάρβαροι προσοικούντες πράγματα παρέχουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ γειτονεύουσιν αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ πλείστον ἀπέχουσι τῶν βαρβάρων.

II. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, νομίζω αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν αἰτίαν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοφνέσιν ἀγαθοῖς πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μετοίκων ἐπιμέλεια γένοιτο· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρόσοδος

that last for ever. Nature has put in her abundance of stone, from which are fashioned lovely temples and lovely altars, and goodly statues for the gods. Many Greeks and barbarians alike have need of it. Again, there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and 5 yet, when quarried, feeds many times the number it could support if it grew corn. And recollect, there is silver in the soil, the gift, beyond doubt, of divine providence. at any rate, many as are the states near to her by land and sea, into none of them does even a thin vein of silver ore extend.

One might reasonably suppose that the city lies 6 at the centre of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world. For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with, and every traveller who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes Athens as the centre of a circle, whether he goes by water or by road. Then too, 7 though she is not wholly sea girt, all the winds of heaven bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island, for she lies between two seas and she has a vast land trade as well, for she is of the mainland. Further, on the 8 borders of most states dwell barbarians who trouble them: but the neighbouring states of Athens are themselves remote from the barbarians.

II All these advantages, as I have said, are, I believe, due to the country itself. But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that, in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens. For in them we

¹ ελκεῖσθαι papyrus fragment ὠκῆσθαι MSS φέρεσθαι S, Dindorf

² εὐπορίᾳ Schanz with M. εὐπρόσια S εὐπορεῖα AC

- τῶν καλλίστων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ περ
αὐτοὺς τρέφοντες καὶ πολλὰ ὠφελοῦντες τὰς
πόλεις οὐ λαμβάνουσι μισθόν, ἀλλὰ μετοίκιον
2 προσφέρουσιν· ἐπιμέλειά γε μὴν ἦδ' ἂν ἀρκεῖν
μοι δοκεῖ, εἰ ἀφέλοιμεν μὲν ὅσα μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα
τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμίας τι¹ δοκεῖ τοῖς μετοίκοις παρέ-
χειν, ἀφέλοιμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ συστρατεύεσθαι ὀπλίτας
μετοίκους τοῖς ἀστοῖς μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος
αὐτῶν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν
3 οἰκείων² ἀπιέναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις γ' ἂν
ὠφελῇ, εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατεύ-
οιντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοντο αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ
νῦν, Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύροι καὶ ἄλλοι
παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοί τῶν
4 μετοίκων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῷ τούτους τοῦ³
συντάττεσθαι ἀφεθῆναι καὶ κόσμος ἂν τῇ πόλει
εἴη, εἰ δοκοῖεν Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὰς μάχας αὐτοῖς
μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ ἄλλοδαποῖς.
- 5 Καὶ μεταδιδόντες δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν τοῖς
μετοίκοις τῶν τ' ἄλλων ὧν καλὸν μεταδιδόναι
καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἐννουστέρους ἂν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ
ἅμα ἰσχυροτέραν ἂν καὶ μείζω τὴν πόλιν
ἀποδεικνύναι.
- 6 Εἵτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰ οἰκιῶν ἔρημά ἐστιν
ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν,⁴ καὶ οἰκόπεδα εἰ ἡ πόλις διδοίη
οἰκοδομησαμένοις ἐγκεκτῆσθαι οἱ ἂν αἰτούμενοι

¹ τι added by Weiske S omits with the MSS

² οἰκείων Dindorf οἰκιῶν S with the MSS

³ τοῦ Schneider ἐκ τοῦ S with the MSS

⁴ Punctuation as corrected by Brinkmann S has the comma after οἰκόπεδα

¹ The MSS have τῶν τέκνων, "their children."

have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax. I think that we should study their interests sufficiently, if we relieved them of the duties that seem to impose a certain measure of disability on the resident alien without conferring any benefit on the state, and also of the obligation to serve in the infantry along with the citizens. Apart from the personal risk, it is no small thing to leave their trades¹ and their private affairs². The state itself too would gain if the citizens served in the ranks together, and no longer found themselves in the same company with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and barbarians of all sorts, of whom a large part of our alien population consists. In addition to the advantage of dispensing with the services of these men, it would be an ornament to the state that the Athenians should be thought to rely on themselves rather than on the help of foreigners in fighting their battles.

If, moreover, we granted the resident aliens the right to serve in the cavalry and various other privileges which it is proper to grant them, I think that we should find their loyalty increase and at the same time should add to the strength and greatness of the state.

Then again, since there are many vacant sites for houses within the walls, if the state allowed approved applicants to erect houses on these and

¹ τὰς οἰκίας, "their houses," may possibly be right in spite of what is said below in § 6.

ἄξιοι δοκῶσιν εἶναι, πολὺ ἂν οἶομαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ βελτίους ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀθήνησιν οἰκησεως.

- 7 Καὶ εἰ μετοικοφύλακάς γε ὥσπερ ὀρφανοφύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταῖμεν καὶ τούτοις τιμὴ τις ἐπεῖη, οἵτινες πλείστους¹ μετοίκους ἀποδείξαιαν, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνουστέρους ἂν τοὺς μετοίκους ποιοίη καί, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, πάντες ἂν οἱ ἀπόλιδες τῆς Ἀθήνηθεν μετοικίας ὀρέγοιντο καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἂν αὖξοιεν,

III. "Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡδίστη τε καὶ κερδαλεωτάτῃ ἡ πόλις, νῦν ταῦτα λέξω.

- Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δήπου ναυσὶ καλλίστας καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει, ὅπου γ' ἔστιν εἰσορμισθέντας ἀδεῶς² ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύε-
2 σθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐν μὲν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι τι ἀνάγκη· νομίσμασι γὰρ οὐ χρησίμοις ἔξω χρῶνται· ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πλείστα μὲν ἔστιν ἀντεξάγειν ὧν ἂν δέωνται ἄνθρωποι, ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι, καὶ³ ἀργύριον ἐξάγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐξάγουσιν. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν πωλῶσιν αὐτό, πανταχοῦ πλείον τοῦ ἀρχαίου λαμβάνουσιν.

- 3 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἄθλα προτιθείη τις, ὅστις δικαιοτάτα καὶ τάχιστα διαιροίη τὰ ἀμφίλογα, ὥς μὴ ἀποκωλύεσθαι ἀποπλεῖν τὸν βουλόμενον, πολὺ ἂν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ ἡδιον ἐμπορεύοιντο.

¹ πλείστους Cobet: πλείους S. with the MSS.

² ἀδεῶς Cobet: ἡδέως S. with the MSS.

³ καὶ Doventer: καὶ οἱ S. with the MSS.

granted them the freehold of the land, I think that we should find a larger and better class of persons desiring to live at Athens

And if we appointed a board of Guardians of 7 Aliens analogous to the Guardians of Orphans, and some kind of distinction were earmarked for guardians whose list of resident aliens was longest, that too would add to the loyalty of the aliens, and probably all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens, and would increase our revenues

III I shall now say something of the unrivalled amenities and advantages of our city as a commercial centre

In the first place, I presume, she possesses the finest and safest accommodation for shipping, since vessels can anchor here and ride safe at their moorings in spite of bad weather. Moreover, at 2 most other ports merchants are compelled to ship a return cargo, because the local currency has no circulation in other states, but at Athens they have the opportunity of exchanging their cargo and exporting very many classes of goods that are in demand, or, if they do not want to ship a return cargo of goods, it is sound business to export silver, for, wherever they sell it, they are sure to make a profit on the capital invested

If prizes were offered to the magistrates of the 3 market¹ for just and prompt settlement of disputes, so that sailings were not delayed, the effect would be that a far larger number of merchants would trade with us and with much greater satisfaction

¹ The market at the Peiræus. The functions of the Board alluded to are unknown, apart from what is implied in the text.

4 ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ καλὸν καὶ προεδρίαῖς τιμᾶσθαι
ἐμπόρους καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ ἐπὶ ξενιά γ' ἔστιν
ὅτε καλεῖσθαι, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἄξιολόγοις καὶ
πλοίοις καὶ ἐμπορεύμασιν ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν.
ταῦτα γὰρ τιμώμενοι οὐ μόνοι τοῦ κέρδους ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἔνεκεν ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἐπισπεύδοιεν
αὐτοὺς.

5 "Ὅσῳ γε μὴν πλείονες εἰσοικίζονται τε καὶ
ἀφικνοῦντο, δῆλον ὅτι τοσούτῳ ἂν πλείον καὶ
εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ
μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροῖτο.

6 Εἰς μὲν οὖν τὰς τοιαύτας αὐξήσεις τῶν
προσόδων οὐδὲ προδαπανῆσαι¹ δεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλ'
ἢ ψηφίσματά τε φιλόπληθον καὶ ἐπιμελείας
ᾄσαι δ' ἂν ἄλλαι δοκοῦσι μοι πρόσοδοι γίγνε-
σθαι, γινώσκω ὅτι ἰσορρομῆς δεῖσει εἰς αὐτάς.

7 οὐ μέντοι δύσελπίς εἰμι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ προθύμως
ἂν τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰσφέρειν,
ἐνθυμούμενος, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν εἰσήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις,
ὅτε Ἀρκάσιν ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτου ἡγου-

8 μένου, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡγησίλεω. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ
καὶ τριήρεις πολλάκις ἐκπεμπομένας σὺν πολλῇ
δαπάνῃ² τούτου μὲν ἀδήλου ὄντος, εἴτε βέλτιον
εἴτε κάκιον ἔσται, ἐκείνου δὲ δήλου, ὅτι οὐδέποτε
ἀπολήψονται ἅ ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν οὐδὲ μεθέξουσιν
9 ὧν ἂν εἰσπενέγκωσι. κτήσιν δὲ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν οὕτω
καλὴν κτήσαιντο ὥσπερ ἀφ' οὗ ἂν προτελέσωσιν
εἰς τὴν ἀφορμήν· ὧ μὲν γὰρ ἂν δέκα μναὶ εἰσφορά

¹ προδαπανῆσαι inferior MSS.: προδαπανῆσαι S. with A:
δαπανῆσαι M.

² S. adds καὶ ταύτας γενομένας with the MSS. Schneider
conjectures καὶ ταῦτα γεγόμενα: Bake κατεσκευασμένας.

It would also be an excellent plan to reserve front 4
seats in the theatre for merchants and shipowners,
and to offer them hospitality occasionally, when the
high quality of their ships and merchandise entitles
them to be considered benefactors of the state.
With the prospect of these honours before them
they would look on us as friends and hasten to visit
us to win the honour as well as the profit.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors 5
would of course lead to a corresponding expansion
of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and
customs.

Now such additions to our revenues as these need 6
cost us nothing whatever beyond benevolent legisla-
tion and measures of control. Other methods of
raising revenue that I have in mind will require
capital, no doubt. Nevertheless I venture to hope 7
that the citizens would contribute eagerly towards
such objects, when I recall the large sums con-
tributed by the state when Lysistratus was in com-
mand and troops were sent to aid the Arcadians,¹
and again in the time of Hegesileos.² I am also 8
aware that large expenditure is frequently incurred
to send warships abroad, though none can tell
whether the venture will be for better or worse, and
the only thing certain is that the subscribers will
never see their money back nor even enjoy any
part of what they contribute. But no investment 9
can yield them so fine a return as the money
advanced by them to form the capital fund. For every
subscriber of ten *minae*, drawing three *obols* a day,

¹ 366 B.C.

² 361 B.C. Hegesileos commanded at the battle of Mantinea.

- γένηται, ὥσπερ ναυτικὸν σχεδὸν ἐπίτεμπτον αὐτῷ γίγνεται, τριώβολον τῆς ἡμέρας λαμβάνουσι· οἱ δὲ γ' ἂν πέντε μναῖ, πλείον ἢ ἐπίτριτον.
- 10 οἱ δὲ γε πλείστοι Ἀθηναίων πλείονα λήψονται κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ ὅσα ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν. οἱ γὰρ μναῖν προτελέσαντες ἔγγυς δυοῖν μναῖν πρὸς δὸν ἔξουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πόλει, ὃ δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλέστατόν τε καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον εἶναι.
- 11 Οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφῆσεσθαι εὐεργέται εἰς τὸν ὑπαντα χρόιον, καὶ ξένους ἂν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἂν καὶ πόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὀρεγομένας. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ βασιλέας ἢν τινὰς καὶ τυράντους καὶ σατράπας ἐπιθυμῆσαι μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς χάριτος.
- 12 Ὅποτε γε μὴν ἀφορμὴ ὑπάρχοι, καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ναυκλήροις οἰκοδομεῖν καταγώγια περὶ λιμένας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐμπόροις προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ¹ ὠνῇ τε καὶ πρύσει καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις δὲ δημόσια
- 13 καταγώγια. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις οἰκῆσεις τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθεῖη καὶ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἅμα τ' ἂν κόσμος εἴη τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλὰ ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδοι γίγνοιτο.
- 14 Ἀγαθὸν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι πειραθῆναι, εἰ καὶ ὥσπερ τριῆρεις δημοσίας ἢ πόλιν κέκτηται, οὕτω καὶ ὀλκάδας δημοσίας δυνατόν ἂν γένοιτο κτήσασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἐκμισθούν ἐπ' ἐγγυητῶν ὥσπερ καὶ τἄλλα δημόσια. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο

¹ προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ Bergk: ἐπὶ προσήκοντας τόπους S. with the MSS.

gets nearly twenty per cent.—as much as he would get on bottomry;¹ and every subscriber of five *minae* gets more than a third of his capital back in interest. But most of the Athenians will get over 10 a hundred per cent. in a year, for those who advance one *mina* will draw an income of nearly two *minae*, guaranteed by the state, which is to all appearances the safest and most durable of human institutions.

I think, too, that if their names were to be 11 recorded in the roll of benefactors for all time, many foreigners also would subscribe, and a certain number of states would be attracted by the prospect of enrolment. I believe that even kings and despots and oriental governors would desire to share in this reward

When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine 12 plan to build more lodging houses for shipowners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also hotels to accommodate visitors. Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the 13 Peiraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue

Moreover, I think it would be a good plan to 14 take a hint from the state ownership of public warships, and to see whether it be possible to acquire a fleet of public merchant vessels and to lease them under securities, like our other public property

¹ 3 *obols* a day are to be paid by the state to every citizen, i. e. 180 *drachmae* a year, or nearly 2 *minae* which is nearly 20 per cent. on 10 *minae*, and exactly 36 per cent. on half that sum.

οἶόν τε ὅν φανείη, πολλή ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων
 πρόσδοδος γίγνοιτο.

IV. Τά γε μὴν ἀργύρεια εἰ κατασκευασθεῖη
 ὥς δεῖ, πάμπολλα ἂν νομίζω χρήματα ἐξ αὐτῶν
 καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων προσιέναι. βού-
 λομαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τὴν τούτων δύναμιν
 δηλῶσαι· ταύτην γὰρ γνόντες καὶ ὅπως χρῆσθαι
 δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον ἂν βουλεύοισθε.

2 Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ ἐνεργά ἐστι,
 πᾶσι σαφές· οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὐδὲ πειράται λέγειν,
 ἀπὸ ποίου χρόνου ἐπεχειρήθη. οὕτω δὲ πάλαι
 ὀρυττομένης τε καὶ ἐκφορομένης τῆς ἀργυρίτιδος
 κατανοήσατε, τί μέρος οἱ ἐκβεβλημένοι σωροὶ
 3 τῶν αὐτοφυῶν τε καὶ ὑπαργύρων λόφων. οὐδὲ
 μὴν ὁ ἀργυρώδης τόπος εἰς μεῖον τι συστελλό-
 μενος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκτεινόμενος φανερός
 ἐστίν.

Ἐν ᾧ γε μὴν χρόνῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἄνθρωποι
 ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἔργου ἠπό-
 ρησέν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἐργαζομένων περιῆν.
 4 καὶ νῦν δὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις
 ἀνδράποδα οὐδεὶς τοῦ πλήθους ἀφαιρεῖ, ἀλλ'
 αἰεὶ προσκτᾶται ὅποσα ἂν πλεῖστα δύνηται. καὶ
 γὰρ δὴ ὅταν μὲν ὀλίγοι ὀρύττωσι καὶ ζητῶσιν,
 ὀλίγα οἶμαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐρίσκεται· ὅταν
 δὲ πολλοί, πολλαπλασία ἡ ἀργυρίτις ἀναφαί-
 νεται. ὥστε ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔργων
 οὐδὲ φθονεῖ οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις.¹

5 Ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγροὺς κεκτημένοι πάντες

¹ ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις Cobet; ἐπισκευαζομένοις S. with the MSS.

For if this proved to be practicable, these vessels would yield another large revenue

IV As for the silver mines, I believe that if a proper system of working were introduced a vast amount of money would be obtained from them apart from our other sources of revenue I want to point out the possibilities of these mines to those who do not know For, once you realize their possibilities, you will be in a better position to consider how the mines should be managed

Now, we all agree that the mines have been 2 worked for many generations At any rate, no one even attempts to date the beginning of mining operations And yet, although digging and the removal of the silver ore have been carried on for so long a time, note how small is the size of the dumps compared with the virgin and silver laden hills And it is continually being found that, so 3 far from shrinking, the silver-yielding area extends further and further

Well, so long as the maximum number of workmen was employed in them, no one ever wanted a job, in fact, there were always more jobs than the labourers could deal with And even at the present day no 4 owner of slaves employed in the mines reduces the number of his men, on the contrary, every master obtains as many more as he can The fact is, I imagine, that when there are few diggers and searchers, the amount of metal recovered is small, and when there are many, the total of ore discovered is multiplied Hence of all the industries with which I am acquainted this is the only one in which expansion of business excites no jealousy

Further than this, every farmer can tell just how 5

- ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὅποσα ζεύγη ἄρκεῖ εἰς τὸ χωρίον
καὶ ὅποσοι ἐργάται· ἦν δ' ἐπὶ πλείον τῶν ἱκανῶν
ἐμβάλλῃ τις, ζημίαν λογίζονται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς
ἀργυρεῖοις ἔργοις πάντες δὴ φασιν ἐνδεῖσθαι
6 ἐργατῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὅταν πολλοὶ
χαλκοτύποι γένωνται, ἀξίων γενομένων τῶν
χαλκευτικῶν ἔργων, καταλύονται οἱ χαλκοτύ-
ποι, καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ ὅταν γε
πολὺς σῖτος καὶ οἶνος γένηται, ἀξίων ὄντων
τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλυσιτελεῖς αἱ γεωργίαι γίνονται,
ὥστε πολλοὶ ἀφιέμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι
ἐπ' ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας καὶ τοκισμοὺς
τρέπονται· ἀργυρίτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων φαί-
νηται καὶ ἀργύριον πλείον γίγνηται, τοσοῦτόν
7 πλείονες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἔρχονται. καὶ γὰρ
δὴ ἐπιπλα μέν, ἐπειδὴν ἱκανά τις κτήσεται τῇ
οἰκίᾳ, οὐ μάλα ἔτι προσωνοῦνται· ἀργύριον δὲ
οὐδεὶς πω οὕτω πολὺ ἐκτήσατο, ὥστε μὴ ἔτι
προσδεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἦν τισι γένηται παμπληθές,
τὸ περιττεῦον κατορύττοντες οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡδονταὶ
ἢ χρώμενοι αὐτῷ.
- 8 Καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε εὖ πράττωσιν αἱ πόλεις,
ἰσχυρῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀργυρίου δέονται. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ ὅπλα τε καλὰ καὶ ἵππους
ἀγαθοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγαλοπρε-
πεῖς βούλονται δαπανᾶν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰς
ἐσθῆτα πολυτελῆ καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον τρέπονται.
- 9 ὅταν τε αὖ νοσήσωσι πόλεις ἢ ἀφορίαις καρπῶν
ἢ πολέμῳ, ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀργοῦ τῆς γῆς
γιγνομένης καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήδεια καὶ εἰς ἐπικούρους
νομίσματος δέονται.
- 10 Εἰ δέ τις φήσειε καὶ χρυσίου μηδὲν ἤττον χρήσι-

many yoke of oxen are enough for the farm and how many labourers To put more on the land than the requisite number is counted loss In mining undertakings, on the contrary, everyone tells you that he is short of labour. Mining, in fact, is quite 6 different from other industries An increase in the number of coppersmiths, for example, produces a fall in the price of copper work, and the coppersmiths retire from business. The same thing happens in the iron trade Again, when corn and wine are abundant, the crops are cheap, and the profit derived from growing them disappears, so that many give up farming and set up as merchants or shopkeepers or money-lenders. But an increase in the amount of the silver ore discovered and of the metal won is accompanied by an increase in the number of persons who take up this industry Neither is silver like furniture, of 7 which a man never buys more when once he has got enough for his house No one ever yet possessed so much silver as to want no more, if a man finds himself with a huge amount of it, he takes as much pleasure in burying the surplus as in using it.

Mark too that, whenever states are prosperous, 8 silver is in strong demand The men will spend money on fine arms and good horses and magnificent houses and establishments, and the women go in for expensive clothes and gold jewelry If, on the other 9 hand, the body politic is diseased owing to failure of the harvest or to war, the land goes out of cultivation and there is a much more insistent demand for cash to pay for food and mercenaries

If anyone says that gold is quite as useful as 10

μον εἶναι ἢ ἀργύριον, τούτῳ¹ μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω, ἐκεῖνο μείτοι οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ χρυσίον ὅταν πολὺ παραφανῇ, αὐτὸ μὲν ἀτιμότερον γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τιμιώτερον ποιεῖ.

11 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδήλωσα τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅπως θαρροῦντες μὲν ὅτι πλείους αἰθρώτους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρια ἄγωμεν, θαρροῦντες δὲ κατασκευαζώμεθα εἰ αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὔτε ἐπιλειψούσης ποτὲ ἀργυρίτιδος
12 οὔτε τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀτίμου ποτὲ ἐσομένου δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἡ πόλις προτέρα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἐγνωκείαι παρέχει γοῦν ἐπὶ ἰσοελείᾳ καὶ τῷ ξένων τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετέλλοις

13 Ἴα δὲ καὶ σαφέστερον περὶ τῆς τροφῆς εἴω, νῦν διηγήσομαι, ὡς κατασκευασθέντα τὰ ἀργύρια ὠφελιμώτατ' ἂν εἴη τῇ πόλει. ἅτ' αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἀφ' ὧν μέλλω λέγειν οὐδέ τι ἀξιῶ θαυμάζεσθαι ὡς δυσεύρετόν τι ἐξευρηκώς. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὧν λέξω καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ὀρώμεν, τὰ δὲ παροιχόμενα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων² κατὰ ταῦτα ἀκοίομεν³

14 τῆς μέντοι πόλεως αἰὶν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ αἰσθανομένην πολλοὺς πλουτιζομένους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἰδιώτας μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τούτους. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήτου οἷς μεμεληκεν ἀκηκόαμεν, ὅτι Νικίας ποτὲ ὁ Νικηράτου ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ἐκεῖνος Σωσίᾳ τῷ Θρακι ἐξεμίσθωσεν ἐφ' ᾧ ὀβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῆ ἑκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναι,
15 τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἴσους αἰὲν παρέχειν⁴ ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἰπτονίκῳ ἑξακόσια ἀνδράποδα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ῥότον τοῦτον ἐκδεδομένα, ἃ προσέφερε μνᾶν

¹ τούτῳ Heindorf τούτο S with the MSS

² παρὰ τῶν πατέρων Wilamowitz πάντων MSS : τῶν πραγμάτων S with the Aldine

silver, I am not going to contradict him; but I know this, that when gold is plentiful, silver rises and gold falls in value

With these facts before us, we need not hesitate 11 to bring as much labour as we can get into the mines and carry on work in them, feeling confident that the ore will never give out and that silver will never lose its value I think, indeed, that the 12 state has anticipated me in this discovery, at any rate she throws open the mining industry to foreigners on the same terms as are granted to citizens

To make myself clearer on the subject of alimony, 13 I will now explain how the mines may be worked with the greatest advantage to the state Not that I expect to surprise you by what I am going to say, as if I had found the solution of a difficult problem For some things that I shall mention are still to be seen by anyone at the present day, and as for conditions in the past, our fathers have told us that they were similar But what may well excite 14 surprise is that the state, being aware that many private individuals are making money out of her, does not imitate them Those of us who have given thought to the matter have heard long ago, I imagine, that Nicias son of Niceratus, once owned a thousand men in the mines, and let them out to Socias the Thracian, on condition that Sosias paid him an *obol* a day per man net and filled all vacancies as they occurred Hipponicus, again, had 15 six hundred slaves let out on the same terms and

³ ταυτὰ δὲ M ταὐτὰ αὖ S with other MSS

⁴ παρέρχων Lenklaus παρέρχων S. with the MSS.

πῶς καὶ φωράσειεν ἄν τις τὸ δημόσιον ἐξαγόμενον, ὁμοίου τοῦ ἰδίου ὄντος αὐτῷ; ἀνδράποδα δὲ σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίῳ σημάτων καὶ προκειμένης ζημίας τῷ τε πωλοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἐξάγοντι, πῶς ἄν τις ταῦτα κλέψειεν;

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τούτου δυνατόν φανεῖται τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτήσασθαι καὶ
 22 φυλάξαι. εἰ δ' αὖ τις τοῦτ' ἐνθυμεῖται, πῶς ἐπειδὴν πολλοὶ ἐργάται γένωνται, πολλοὶ φανοῦνται καὶ οἱ μισθωσόμενοι, ἐκείνο κατανοήσας θαρρείτω, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν κατεσκευασμένων προσμισθώσονται τοὺς δημοσίους, πολλὰ γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις γηρασκόντες,¹ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ ξένοι, οἱ τῷ σώματι μὲν οὔτε βούλονται ἂν οὔτε δύναιντ' ἂν ἐργάζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ ἐπιμελούμενοι ἡδέως ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζοιντο.

23 Ἦν γε μέντοι τὸ πρῶτον συστῇ διακόσια καὶ χίλια ἀνδράποδα, εἰκὸς ἤδη ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς προσόδου ἐν ἔτεσι πέντε ἢ ἕξ μὴ μείον ἂν τῶν² ἐξακισχιλίων γενέσθαι. ἀπὸ γε μὴν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἦν ὀβολὸν ἕκαστος ἀτελῇ τῆς ἡμέρας φέρῃ, ἢ μὲν
 24 πρόσσδος ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα τιθῆται εἴκοσι, τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἤδη ἐξέσται τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι εἰς ἄλλο ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ. ὅταν δέ γε μύρια ἀναπληρωθῇ, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἢ πρόσσδος ἔσται.

25 Ὅτι δὲ δέξεται πολλαπλάσια τούτων, μαρτυρήσαιεν ἂν μοι εἴ τινες ἔτι εἰσὶ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὅσον τὸ τέλος εὔρισκε τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πρὸ τῶν

¹ γηράσκοντες Dindorf: γηρασκόντων S. with the MSS.

the export of public money? Money looks the same whether it is private property or belongs to the state. But how is a man to steal slaves when they are branded with the public mark and it is a penal offence to sell or export them?

So far, then, it appears to be possible for the state to acquire and to keep men. But, one may ask, when labour is abundant, how will a sufficient number of persons be found to hire it? Well, if anyone feels doubtful about that, let him comfort himself with the thought that many men in the business will hire the state slaves as additional hands, since they have abundance of capital, and that among those now working in the mines many are growing old. Moreover there are many others, both Athenians and foreigners, who have neither will nor strength to work with their own hands, but would be glad to to make a living by becoming managers.

Assume, however, that the total number of slaves to begin with is twelve hundred. By using the revenue derived from these the number might in all probability be raised to six thousand at the least in the course of five or six years. Further, if each man brings in a clear *obol* a day, the annual revenue derived from that number of men is sixty *talents*. Out of this sum, if twenty *talents* are invested in additional slaves, the state will have forty *talents* available for any other necessary purpose. And when a total of ten thousand men is reached, the revenue will be a hundred *talents*.

But the state will receive far more than that, as anyone will testify who is old enough to remember how much the charge for slave labour brought in

* ἀντὶ τούτου Wilamowitz. ἀντὶ S. with the MSS

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δῆλον ὅτι λυσιτελέστερα ἂν τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα γίγνοιτο.

Τό γε μὴν πάσας ἀποτυχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρελη-
 32 λυθότων εἰκόσ. οἷόν τε δὴ οὕτως καὶ ἰδιώτας συν-
 ισταμένους καὶ κοινουμένους τὴν τύχην ἀσφαλέ-
 στερον κινδυνεύειν. μηδὲν μέντοι τοῦτο φοβεῖσθε,
 ὥς ἢ τὸ δημόσιον οὕτω κατασκευαζόμενον παραλυ-
 πήσει τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ οἱ ἰδιῶται τὸ δημόσιον· ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ σύμμαχοι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συνιῶσιν, ἰσχυ-
 ρότερους ἀλλήλους ποιοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 ἀργυρείοις ὅσῳ περ ἂν πλείους ἐργάζωνται, τόσῳ
 πλείονα τὰ γαθὰ εὐρήσουσιν τε καὶ ἐκφορήσουσι.¹

33 Καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ εἴρηται, ὥς ἂν ἡγοῦμαι κατα-
 σκευασθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὴν ἂν πᾶσιν Ἀθη-
 34 ναίοις τροφὴν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γενέσθαι. εἰ δέ τινες
 λογιζόμενοι παμπόλλης ἂν δεῖν ἀφορμῆς εἰς
 ταῦτα πάντα οὐχ ἡγοῦνται ἱκανὰ ἂν ποτε χρήματα
 35 εἰσενεχθῆναι, μηδὲ οὕτως ἀθυμούντων. οὐ γὰρ
 οὕτως ἔχει, ὥς ἀνάγκη ἅμα πάντα ταῦτα
 γίγνεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῶν εἶναι· ἀλλ'
 ὅποσα ἂν ἢ οἰκοδομηθῇ ἢ ναυπηγηθῇ ἢ ἀνδράποδα
 36 ὠνηθῇ, εὐθὺς ταῦτα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἔσται. ἀλλὰ
 μὴν καὶ τῇδε γε συμφωρότερον τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἢ
 τὸ ἅμα πάντα πράττεσθαι. οἰκοδομοῦντες μὲν
 γὰρ ἀθρόοι πολυτελέστερον ἂν καὶ κάκιον ἢ
 κατὰ μέρος ἀποτελοῖμεν· ἀνδράποδα δὲ παμπληθῇ
 ζητοῦντες ἀναγκαζοίμεθ' ἂν καὶ χεῖρω καὶ τιμιώ-
 τερα ὠνεῖσθαι.

¹ ἐκφορήσουσι Cobet: φορήσουσι S. with the MSS.

three, four, or half the tribes found, the profits from these works would obviously be greater

Nothing that has happened in the past makes it probable that all would fail to find Of course, 32 private individuals also are able to combine on this principle and pool their fortunes in order to diminish the risk. Nevertheless there is no reason to fear that a public company formed on this plan will conflict with the interests of private persons, or be hampered by them No, just as every new adhesion to a confederacy brings an increase of strength to all its members, so the greater the number of persons operating in the mines, the more treasure they will discover and unearth

I have now explained what regulations I think 33 should be introduced into the state in order that every Athenian may receive sufficient maintenance at the public expense Some may imagine that 34 enough money would never be subscribed to provide the huge amount of capital necessary, according to their calculations, to finance all these schemes But even so they need not despair For it is not 35 essential that the plan should be carried out in all its details in order that any advantage may come of it No, whatever the number of houses built, or of ships constructed, or of slaves purchased, they will immediately prove a paying concern In 36 fact in one respect it will be even more profitable to proceed gradually than to do everything at once For if everybody begins building, we shall pay more for worse work than if we carry out the undertaking gradually; and if we try to find an enormous number of slaves, we shall be forced to buy inferior men at a high price.

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- σάντων, ὅτι τούτων γιγνομένων πολὺ φοβερώτερος
42 ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἢ τῇ πόλει. τί γὰρ
δὴ εἰς πόλεμον κτῆμα χρησιμώτερον ἀνθρώπων;
πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς πληροῦν ἱκανοὶ ἂν εἰεν
δημοσίᾳ· πολλοὶ δ' ἂν καὶ πεζοὶ δημοσίᾳ δύναιντ'
ἂν βαρεῖς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ
θεραπεύοι.
- 43 Λογίζομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ πολέμου γιγνομένου
οἷόν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἐκλείπεσθαι τὰ ἀργύρεια. ἔστι
μὲν γὰρ δήπου περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς
μεσημβρίαν¹ τεῖχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἔστι δ' ἐν
τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον τεῖχος ἐν Θορικῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ
ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα στάδια.
44 εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὑψη-
λοτάτῳ Βήσης τρίτον ἔρυμα, συνήκοι τ' ἂν τὰ ἔργα
εἰς ἓν ἐξ ὑπάντων τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ εἴ τι αἰσθάνοιτο
πολεμικόν, βραχὺ ἂν εἴη ἐκάστῳ εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς
45 ἀποχωρῆσαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν πλείους πολέμιοι,
δῆλον ὅτι εἰ μὲν σῖτον ἢ οἶνον ἢ πρόβατα ἔξω
εὗροιεν, ἀφέλονται ἂν ταῦτα· ἀργυρίτιδος δὲ κρα-
τήσαντες τί ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ λίθοις ἔχοιεν χρῆσθαι;
46 πῶς δὲ καὶ ὀρμήσειαν ἂν ποτε πολέμιοι πρὸς τὰ
μέταλλα; ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ δήπου τῶν ἀργυρείων
ἢ ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαρα πολὺ πλείον τῶν
πεντακοσίων σταδίων· ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα
—λησιαίτατα Θῆβαι πολὺ πλείον τῶν ἑξακοσίων.
47 ἢ ν οἷν πορεύονται ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια.

¹ R. with the Mss. adds θαλάττῃ which Bergk saw to be
superfluous

should observe that, with this system at work, war becomes far more formidable to the aggressors than to the city. For what instrument is more service-
 42 able for war than men? We should have enough of them to supply crews to many ships of the state; and many men available for service in the ranks as infantry could press the enemy hard, if they were treated with consideration.¹

But I reckon that, even in the event of war, the
 43 mines need not be abandoned. There are, of course, two fortresses in the mining district, one at Amphlystus on the south side, the other at Thoricus on the north. The distance between them is about seven
 44 miles and a half. Now suppose that we had a third stronghold between them on the highest point of Besa. The works² would then be linked up by all the fortresses, and at the first intimation of a hostile
 45 movement, every man would have but a short distance to go in order to reach safety. In case an enemy came in force, he would, no doubt, seize any corn or
 46 wine or cattle that he found outside, but the silver ore, when he had got it, would be of as much use to him as a heap of stones. And how could an enemy ever go for the mines? The distance be-
 47 tween Megara, the nearest city, and the silver mines, is of course much more than five hundred furlongs, and Thebes, which is next in proximity, lies at a distance of much more than six hundred furlongs from them. Let us assume, then, that an enemy is marching on the mines from some such point.

¹ Observe that Xenophon alludes here not to the resident aliens but to the state-owned slaves in the mines.

² Or, as some understand, 'the workmen would gather from all the fortresses into one.'

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τοιοι¹ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπύροις γυμνασιαρχούμενοι· οἳ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οἳ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν πάντα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἂν πράττειεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς τροφῆς ἀποδιδόμενης.

- V. Εἰ δὲ σαφὲς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὥς εἰ μέλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκ πόλεως προσιέναι, εἰρήνην δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, ἅρ' οὐκ ἄξιον καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας καθιστάναι; πολὺ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὕτη αἰρεθεῖσα ἡ ἀρχὴ προσφιλεστέραν καὶ πυκνότεραν εἰσαφικνεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσῃ τὴν πόλιν.
- 2 εἰ δέ τινες οὕτω γιγνώσκουσιν, ὥς ἂν ἡ πόλις εἰρήνην ἄγουσα διατελῇ, ἀδυνατωτέρα τε καὶ ἀδοξοτέρα καὶ ἡττον ὀνομαστή ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔσται, καὶ οὗτοί γε ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ² παραλόγως σκοποῦσιν. εὐδαιμονέσταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου πόλεις λέγονται, αἱ ἂν πλείστον χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατελῶσι· πασῶν δὲ πόλεων Ἀθηναὶ μάλιστα
- 3 πεφύκασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὔξεσθαι. τίνες γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἀγούσης τῆς πόλεως οὐ προσδέονται ἂν αὐτῆς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων; οὐχ οἱ πολῦσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολύοινοι,³ τί δὲ οἱ πολυέλαιοι, τί δὲ οἱ πολυπρόβατοι, οἳ δὲ γνώμη καὶ ἀργυρίῳ
- 4 δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴν χειροτέχναι τε καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, οἳ δὲ ποιηταί, οἳ δὲ τὰ τούτων μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἳ δὲ ἀξιοθεάτων ἢ ἀξιακούστων ἱερῶν ἢ ὁσίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ δεόμενοι πολλὰ ταχὺ ἀποδίδοσθαι ἢ

¹ τοῦτο πράττειεν οἱ πράττειεν MSS.: πράττειεν τὰ B. with Lenklau.

they receive their maintenance in full than they take under the superintendents of the torch races,¹ and the classes on garrison duty in a fortress, or serving as targeteers, or patrolling the country will show greater alacrity in carrying out all these duties when the maintenance is duly supplied for the work done

V. If it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace, is it not worth while to set up a board of guardians of peace? Were such a board constituted, it would help to increase the popularity of the city and to make it more attractive and more densely thronged with visitors from all parts. If any are inclined² to think that a lasting peace for our city will involve a loss of her power and glory and fame in Greece, they too, in my opinion, are out in their calculations. For I presume that those states are reckoned the happiest that enjoy the longest period of unbroken peace, and of all states Athens is by nature most suited to flourish in peace. For if³ the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle, men possessed of brains and money to invest, craftsmen and professors and⁴ philosophers, poets and the people who make use of their works, those to whom anything sacred or secular appeals that is worth seeing or hearing. Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell

the upkeep of the competitions. In difficult times

¹ *ἔμολ' ὁκεῖ* Castalio *ἐμῇ δόξῃ* S with the MSS

² S retains *ὅτι οἱ ἡδύοισι* after *πολυοῖσι* with the MSS

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ἐπ' ἐκείνους, οἵτινες ἐκλιπόντων Φωκίων τὸ ἱερὸν
 10 καταλαμβάνειν τειρῶντο.¹ εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἀνὰ
 πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν εἰρήνη ἔσται, φαιεροί
 εἴητε ἐπιμελόμενοι, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας αἱ
 εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας Ἀθήνας
 μάλιστα σώζεσθαι.

11 Εἰ δέ τις αὖ εἰς χρήματα κερδαλεώτερον
 νομίζει εἶναι τῇ πόλει πόλεμον ἢ εἰρήνην, ἐγὼ
 μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, τῶς ἂν ἄμεινον ταῦτα κριθεῖν ἢ
 εἴ τις τὰ προγεγενημένα ἐτανασκοτοίῃ² τῇ πόλει

12 πῶς ἀποβέβηκεν. εὐρήσει γὰρ τό τε παλαιὸν ἐν
 εἰρήνῃ μὲν τάνυ πολλά χρήματα εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἀνενεχθέντα, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα κα-
 दाπανηθέντα· γινώσεται δέ, ἣν σκοτῇ, καὶ ἐν τῷ
 νῦν χρόνῳ διὰ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν προσόδων
 πολλὰς ἐκλιπούσας καὶ τὰς εἰσελθούσας εἰς
 παντοδαπὰ³ καταδαπανηθείσας ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη
 κατὰ θάλατταν γεγένηται, ἠϋξημέας τε τὰς
 προσόδους καὶ ταύταις ἐξὸν τοῖς πολίταις
 χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται.

13 Εἰ δέ τις με ἐπερωτῇ, Ἥ καὶ ἂν τις ἀδικῇ
 τὴν πόλιν, λέγεις, ὡς χρὴ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐκ ἂν φαίην ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 λέγω, ὅτι πολὺ θάττον ἂν τιμωροίμεθα αὐτούς,
 εἰ μηδένα ὑπάρχοιμεν ἀδικοῦντες·⁴ οὐδένα γὰρ
 ἂν ἔχοιεν σύμμαχον

VI. Ἀλλ' εἴ γε μὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀδύνατον
 μὲν μηδὲν ἐστὶ μηδὲ χαλεπὸν, πραττομένων δὲ

¹ πειρῶντο Madvig ἐπειρῶντο S with the MSS.

² ἐτανασκοτοίῃ Dindorf. ἔτι ἀνασκοτοίῃ S with the MSS

³ παντοδαπὰ Lenklau παντοδαπὰ πολλὰ S with the MSS

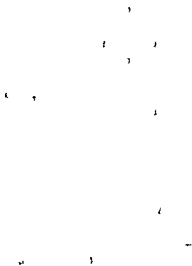
against any that attempted to seize the shrine in the event of the Phocians abandoning it Were 10
 you to show also that you are striving for peace in every land and on every sea, I do think that, next to the safety of their own country, all men would put the safety of Athens first in their prayers

If, on the other hand, any one supposes that 11
 financially war is more profitable to the state than peace, I really do not know how the truth of this can be tested better than by considering once more what has been the experience of our state in the past He will find that in old days a very great amount 12
 of money was paid into the treasury in time of peace, and that the whole of it was spent in time of war, he will conclude on consideration that in our own time the effect of the late war on our revenues was that many of them ceased, while those that came in were exhausted by the multitude of expenses, whereas the cessation of war by sea has been followed by a rise in the revenues, and has allowed the citizens to devote them to any purpose they choose.

But some one may ask me, Do you mean to say 13
 that, even if she is wronged, the state should remain at peace with the offender? No, certainly not, but I do say that our vengeance would follow far more swiftly on our enemies if we provoked nobody by wrong doing, for then they would look in vain for an ally

VI Well now, surely, if none of these proposals is impossible or even difficult, if by carrying them into

⁴ *ὑπάρχομεν ἀδικοῦντες* Cobet *παρέχομεν ἀδικοῦντα* S with the MSS





THE CAVALRY COMMANDER

6 Τῶν γε μὴν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἷων δεῖ τοὺς
ἱππέας αὐτὸν ἀσκητέον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἵππους ἀνατηδᾶν δύνωται· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἤδη ἡ
σωτηρία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐγείετο· δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως
ἐν ταιντοίοις χωρίοις ἱπτάζεσθαι δυνήσονται· καὶ
γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι ἄλλοτε ἐν ἀλλοίοις τόποις γίγνον-
7 ται. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη ἔποχοι ᾧσι, δεῖ αὐτὸν σκοτεῖσθαι,
ὅπως ἀκουτιοῦσιν τε ὡς πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων
καὶ τᾶλλα δυνήσονται ποιεῖν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς ἱππικούς.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὀπλιστέον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἱππέας,
ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤκιστα τιτρώσκειντ' ἅν, βλάπτειν
7 δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα δύναιντ' ἅν. ἐκ τού-
των παρασκευαστέον, ὅπως εὐτειθεῖς οἱ ἄνδρες
ᾧσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτου οὐθ' ἵππων ἀγαθῶν οὔτε
ἱππέων ἐπόχων οὔτε ὅπλων καλῶν ὄφελος οὐδέν.

Προστατεύειν μὲν οὖν τούτων πάντων ὅπως
8 καλῶς γίγνηται τὸν ἱππαρχον εἰκὸς ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ
δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις χαλεπὸν ἡγήσαμένη ταῦτα πάντα
τὸν ἱππαρχον μόνον ὄντα κατεργάζεσθαι προσαι-
ρεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς φυλάρχους, προσέ-
ταξε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ,
ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φυλάρχους
παρασκευάζειν συνεπιθυμεῖν σοι τῶν καλῶν τῷ
ἱππικῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἔχειν ῥήτορας ἐπιτη-
δείους, ὅπως λέγοντες φοβῶσιν τε τοὺς ἱππέας,

¹ A difficult feat, since the Greek rider had no stirrups.

² When attacking infantry in line the cavalry never charged home; but only approached near enough to throw

Having made sure that the horses are in good condition, the next business is to train the men. First they must learn to mount from the spring,¹ since many before now have owed their lives to that. Secondly, they must practise riding over all sorts of ground, since any kind of country may become the area of war. As soon as they have acquired a firm seat, your next task is to take steps that as many as possible shall be able to throw the javelin when mounted² and shall become efficient in all the details of horsemanship.

After that both horses and men must be armed, so that, while they are themselves thoroughly protected against wounds, they may have the means of inflicting the greatest loss on the enemy. Then you must contrive to make the men obedient: otherwise neither good horses nor a firm seat nor fine armour are of any use.

For ensuring efficiency in all these matters the cavalry commander, as a matter of course, is the principal authority. But, at the same time, the state thinks it difficult for the cavalry commander to carry out all these duties single handed, therefore, it also elects colonels of regiments to assist him, and it has charged the Council with the duty of taking a share in the management of the cavalry. I think it well, then, that you should encourage the colonels to be as eager as yourself for the efficiency of the cavalry, and should have suitable spokesmen in the Council, that their speeches may alarm the men—they will do better under the influence of fear—and the javelin with effect. Hence the importance attached to an accomplishment by no means easy to perform without stirrups. See especially the next treatise, c. xii.

14 καὶ τοὺς βιαίους δ' ἵππους ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ
εἶναι προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται.
αὕτη γὰρ ἢ ἀπειλὴ πωλεύειν¹ ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους
μᾶλλον παρορμήσειε καὶ ἱππωνεῖν σωφρονέ-
15 στερον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἱππασίαις
λακτίζοντας ἵππους προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκι-
μασθήσονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ συντάττειν τοὺς τοιού-
τους δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ποι ἐπὶ πολεμίους
δέη ἐλαύνειν, ὑστάτους αὐτοὺς ἔπεςθαι, ὥστε
διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου κακουργίαν ἄχρηστος καὶ ὁ
ἱππεὺς καθίσταται.

16 Ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἶεν τῶν ἵππων κρά-
τιστοι, εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει ῥᾶω καὶ εὐτελεστέραν
ἄσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι
πεῖραν ἔχων χύδην καταβαλόντα λίθους τῶν ἐκ
τῆς ὁδοῦ ὅσον μναίους καὶ πλεῖον καὶ μείον ἐν
τούτοις τὸν ἵππον ψήχειν καὶ ἐνιστάναι, ὅταν
ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης ἀποβῇ. βαδίζων γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
λίθοις οὐποτε ὁ ἵππος παύσεται οὐθ' ὅταν ψήχη-
ται οὐθ' ὅταν μυωπίζηται. ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς τά
τε ἄλλα, ἃ λέγω, πιστεύσει καὶ στρογγύλους
τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων ὄψεται.

17 Ὅποτε γε μὴν οἱ ἵπποι εἰσὶν οἷους δεῖ, ὥς ἂν αὐτοὶ
οἱ ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι γίγνοιντο, τοῦτο διηγῆσομαι.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοὺς νέους αὐτῶν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἵππους πείθοιμεν ἂν αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν· τὸν
διδάξοντα δὲ παρασχὼν ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἂν
τυγχάνοις. τοὺς γε μὴν πρεσβυτέρους τὸν Περ-
σικὸν τρόπον ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων προσε-
θίσας καὶ τούτους ὠφελήσαιοις ἂν.

¹ πωλεύειν Rühl: πωλεῖν S. with the MSS.

them. I think it would be well, too, if notice were 14
 given that vicious horses would be rejected. Under
 the stimulus of this threat men would break in such
 animals more thoroughly and would be more careful
 in buying horses. Again, it would be well to give 15
 notice that horses found kicking at exercise will be
 rejected. For it is impossible even to keep such
 animals in line ; in a charge against an enemy they are
 bound to lag behind, and the consequence is, that
 through the bad behaviour of his horse, the man
 himself becomes useless.

For getting horses' feet into the best condition,¹ 16
 if anyone has an easier and cheaper method
 than mine, by all means adopt it. If not, I hold—
 and I speak from experience—that the right way
 is to throw down some stones from the road,
 averaging about a pound in weight, and to curry
 the horse on these and to make him stand on them
 whenever he goes out of the stable. For the horse
 will constantly use his feet on the stones when he is
 cleaned and when he is worried by flies. Try it, and
 you will find your horses' feet round, and will believe
 in the rest of my rules.

Assuming that the horses are in good condition, 17
 I will explain how to make the men themselves
 thoroughly efficient.

We would persuade the young recruits to learn
 for themselves how to mount from the spring ;
 but if you provide an instructor, you will receive
 well-merited praise. The way to help the older
 men is to accustom them to get a leg-up in the
 Persian fashion.

¹ Horse-shoes being unknown ; cf. the following treatise,
 c. iv.

- 18 Ὅπως γε μὴν ἐν παιτοδαποῖς χωρίοις ἔπαρχοι οἱ ἵππεῖς δυνήσονται εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πυκνὰ ἐξάγειν μὴ πολέμου ὄντος ἴσως ὀχληρόν· συγκαλέσαντα δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἵππεας συμβουλευσαι αὐτοῖς μελετᾶν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς χώραν ἐλαύνωσι καὶ ὅταν ἄλλοσέ ποι, ἐκβιβάζοντας τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντας ἐν τόποις παιτοδαποῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ὠφελεῖ μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ ἐξάγειν, ὅχλον δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον παρέχει. ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀνέχεται δαπανῶσα εἰς τὸ ἵππικόν ἐγγὺς τετταράκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὥς ἢν πόλεμος γίγνηται, μὴ ζητεῖν δέη ἵππικόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἔχῃ παρεσκευασμένῳ χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνθυμουμένους εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικὴν, ὅπως ἢν πόλεμος ἐγείρηται, μὴ ἀμελετήτους ὄντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι δέη περί τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ 20 εὐκλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προειπεῖν τοῖς ἵππευσιν, ὅτι ἐξάξεις καὶ σύ ποτε αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ παντοίων χωρίων ἡγήσει. καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις δὲ τῆς ἀνθιππασίας καλὸν ἐξάγειν ἄλλοτε εἰς ἄλλοιον τόπον· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἵππευσι καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις βέλτιον.
- 21 Ἀκοντίζειν γε μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὧδ' ἂν πλείστοί μοι δοκοῦσι μελετᾶν, εἰ τοῦτ' αὖ προείποις τοῖς φυλάρχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς δεήσει ἡγουμένους τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἀκοντισταῖς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον. φιλοτιμοῖντο γὰρ ἂν, ἢ εἰκός, ὥς

To ensure that the men have a firm seat, whatever the nature of the ground, it is, perhaps, too much trouble to have them out frequently when there is no war going on, but you should call the men together, and recommend them to practise turning off the roads and galloping over all sorts of ground when they are riding to quarters or any other place. For this does as much good as taking them out, and it is less tedious. It is useful to remind them that the state supports an expenditure of nearly forty talents¹ a year in order that she may not have to look about for cavalry in the event of war, but may have it ready for immediate use. For with this thought in their minds the men are likely to take more pains with their horsemanship, so that when war breaks out they may not have to fight untruned for the state, for glory and for life. It is well also to give notice to the men that you intend to take them out yourself some day, and lead them over country of all kinds. And during the manœuvres that precede the sham fight it is proper to take them out to a different piece of country at different times. This is better for both men and horses.

As for throwing the javelin on horseback,² I think that the greatest number will practise that if you add a warning to the colonels that they will be required to ride to javelin exercise themselves at the head of the marksmen of the regiment. Thus, in all probability, everyone of them will be eager to turn

¹ Say £9 500, a large sum in those times. The pay is of course, alluded to. The expenditure would amount *daily* to nearly 666 *drachmae*. The cavalryman's normal pay was a *drachma* a day. Hence it looks as if the number of the cavalry in 365 B.C. had fallen to about 650.

² At a suspended shield.

πλείστους ἕκαστος ἀποδείξαι ἀκοντιστὰς τῇ πόλει.

22 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς γε ὀπλισθῆναι τοῖς ἱππέας οἱ φύλαρχοι ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι μέγιστον συλλαμβάνειν, εἰ πεισθείησαν, ὅτι πολὺ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῆς πόλεως εὐδοξότερον τῇ τῆς φυλῆς λαμπρότητι κεκοσμήσθαι ἢ μόνον τῇ ἑαυτῶν
23 στολῇ. εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ δυσπείστους εἶναι αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ γε φυλαρχεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, δυνατοὶ δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὀπλίσαι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ αὐτοὶ δαπανᾶν τῷ μισθῷ ἐπαναγκάζοντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὀπλίζεσθαι.

24 Εἰς γε μὴν τὸ εὐπειθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους μέγα μὲν τὸ¹ λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐνὶ ἐν τῷ πειθαρχεῖν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργῳ² πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν ποιεῖν τοὺς εὐτάκτους, μειονεκτεῖν δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας.

25 Ἰσχυροτάτη δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι παρόρμησις τῶν φυλάρχων εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένης³ ἕκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι, εἰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους κοσμήσας μὲν ὅπλοις ὡς κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ μελετᾶν ἐξαναγκάσας ὡς μάλιστα, εἰσηγοῖο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα μεμελετηκώς.
26 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλά τις δύναιτο προτιθέναι ταῖς

¹ τὸ Schneider · τὸ καὶ S with the MSS.

² S with the MSS. adds κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which was removed by Weiske

³ παρεσκευασμένης Weiske: παρεσκευασμένους S with the MSS

¹ The reference is first to the "establishment money"

out as many marksmen as possible for the service of the state.

Towards the proper arming of the men, I think 22 that the greatest amount of assistance will be obtained from the colonels, if they are persuaded that from the point of view of the state the brilliance of the regiment is a far more glorious ornament to them than the brightness of their own accoutrements only. It is likely that they will not 23 be hard to persuade in such matters, considering that honour and glory were the attractions that the colonelcy held out to them, and they can arm the men in accordance with the regulations laid down in the law without incurring expense themselves, afterwards compelling the men to spend their pay on their arms, as the law ordains¹

To make the men who are under your command 24 obedient, it is important to impress on them by word of mouth the many advantages of obedience to authority, and no less important to see that good discipline brings gain and insubordination loss in every respect

The best way of inducing every colonel to take pride 25 in commanding a well equipped regiment, I think, is to arm your company of couriers as well as you can, to demand of them constant practice in the use of the javelin, and to instruct them in it after making yourself proficient. And if 26 you could offer prizes to the regiments for skill in

for horse and equipment, due to recruits when they had passed the examination by the Council. There is another allusion to it in c ix 5. This sum is independent of the pay, and it is probable that on leaving the service the cavalryman had to refund it.

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φυλαῖς πάντων ὅποσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ, τοῦτο πάντας οἶμαι Ἀθηναίους γε μάλιστ' ἂν προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονεικίαν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὥς μικρῶν ἄθλων ἔνεκα πολλοὶ μὲν πόνοι, μεγάλα δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται. τοὺς μέντοι κριτὰς τοιούτους δεῖ εὐρίσκειν, παρ' οἷς νικῶντες μάλιστ' ἂν ἀγάλλοιντο.

II. Ἦν δὲ δὴ σοι ταῦτά πάντα ἐξησκημένοι ὦσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς, δεῖ δὴπου καὶ τάξιν τινὰ ἐπίστασθαι αὐτούς, ἐξ ἧς καλλίστας μὲν θεοῖς πομπὰς πέμψουσι, κάλλιστα δὲ ἱππάσονται, ἄριστα δὲ μαχοῦνται. ἦν δέη, ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ ἀταρακτότατα ὁδοὺς πορεύσονται καὶ διαβάσεις περάσουσιν. ἢ τοίνυν χρώμενοι τάξει δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα διαπράττεσθαι, ταύτην νῦν ἤδη πειράσομαι δηλοῦν.

2 Οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχουσι διηρημένοι φυλαὶ δέκα. τούτων δ' ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχους σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκάστου γνώμῃ καταστήσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλὸν τι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀκούειν· καὶ τούτους μὲν πρωτοστάτας

3 δεῖ εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσους χρῆ τοῦτοις ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτων ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες τελευταῖοι τῶν δεκάδων ἔσονται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ἀπεικάσαι, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος μάλιστα διατέμνει σίδηρον, ὅταν τό τε ἡγούμενον τοῦ τομέως ἔρρωμένον ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπελαννόμενον ἱκανόν.

4 Τούς γε μὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν

all the feats that the public expects the cavalry to perform at the spectacles, I think this would appeal strongly to the spirit of emulation in every Athenian. For evidence of this I may refer to the choruses, in which many labours and heavy expenses are the price paid for trifling rewards. Only you must find judges whose suffrage will shed lustre on a victory.

II When your men are well trained in all these points, they must, of course, understand some plan of formation, that in which they will show to greatest advantage in the sacred processions and at manœuvres, fight, if need be, with the greatest courage, and move along roads and cross rivers with perfect ease in unbroken order. So I will now try to explain the formation that I think will give the best results in these various circumstances.

Now the state has divided the cavalry into ten ² separate regiments. I hold that within these you should, to begin with, appoint file leaders ¹ after consulting each of the colonels, choosing sturdy men, who are bent on winning fame by some brilliant deed. These should form the front rank. Next ³ you should choose an equal number of the oldest and most sensible to form the rear rank. To use an illustration, steel has most power to cut through steel when its edge is keen and its back reliable.

To fill the ranks between the front and rear, ⁴ the file leaders should choose the men to form the

¹ 'Decadarchs' commanding a file of ten (*dekads*). A. had in mind the organisation of the Spartan infantry, cp. *Constitution of the Lac.* xi 5

² *ἑκατα* added here by Pierleoni. S. omits with the MSS

τελευταίων, εἰ οἱ δεκάδαρχοι ἐπιστάτας ἔλαιντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐφέλαιντο, οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐκάστῳ πιστότατον τὸν ἐπιστάτην εἶναι.

5 Τὸν μέντοι ἀφηγούμενον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεῖ ἱκανὸν ἄνδρα καθιστάναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν, εἴτε ποτὲ δέοι ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἐλαύνειν, ἐγκελεύων ῥώμην ἂν ἐμβάλλοι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, εἴτ' αὖ καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν καιρὸς συμβαίνοι, φρονίμως ἀφηγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, σώξοι τοὺς φυλέτας.

6 Οἱ μέντοι δεκάδαρχοι ἄρτιοι ὄντες πλείω ἴσα μέρη παρέχοιεν ἂν διαιρεῖν ἢ εἰ περιττοὶ εἶεν.

Αὕτη δέ μοι ἡ τάξις ἀρέσκει διὰ τὰδε, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πρωτοστάται πάντες ἄρχοντες γίγνονται, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἄρχωσι, μᾶλλον πῶς οἶονται ἑαυτοῖς προσήκειν τι καλὸν ποιεῖν ἢ ὅταν ἰδιῶται ὥσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅταν πρακτέον τι ᾖ, τὸ παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἰδιώταις, ἀλλ' ἄρχουσι πολὺ ἀνυτικώτερον.

7 Τεταγμένων γε μὴν οὕτως χρή, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς φυλάρχοις προαγορεύεται ἡ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππάρχου, ἐν ᾗ ἐκάστῳ ἐλατέον, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις παρηγγέλλθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ὅπη¹ πορευτέον ἐκάστῳ. οὕτω γὰρ προειρημένων πολὺ εὐτακτοτέρως ἔχοι ἢ ἂν εἰ ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου ὥς ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπιδόντες λυποῦσιν
8 ἀλλήλους. καὶ μάχεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν οἱ τε πρῶτοι, ἣν τι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν προσπίπτῃ.

¹ 377 Diels; 370 S. with the MSS.

second line, and these in turn the men to form the third, and so on throughout. In this way every man will naturally have complete confidence in the man behind him.

You must be very careful to appoint a competent 5 man as leader in the rear¹. For if he is a good man, his cheers will always hearten the ranks in front of him in case it becomes necessary to charge, or, should the moment come to retreat, his prudent leadership will, in all probability, do much for the safety of his regiment.

An even number of file leaders has this advantage 6 over an odd, that it is possible to divide the regiment into a larger number of equal parts.

The reasons why I like this formation are these. In the first place, all the men in the front rank are officers, and the obligation to distinguish themselves appeals more strongly to men when they are officers than when they are privates. Secondly, when anything has to be done, the word of command is much more effective if it is passed to officers rather than to privates.

Let us assume that this formation has been 7 adopted. Every file leader must know his position in the line of march by word passed along by the colonel, just as every colonel is informed by the commander of his proper place in the charge. For when these instructions are given there will be much better order than if the men hamper one another like a crowd leaving the theatre. And in the event of a frontal 8 attack, the men in the van are far more willing to

¹ i. e. the last man of each file (cf. § 3) who in some cases would have to act as leader. In the Spartan infantry he was the man with the longest service in the file.

οἱ ἄν εἰδόμεν, ὅτι αἴτιον ἢ χόρα αἰ-πῶν καὶ εἰ-
 τελευτᾷ τῇ τῇ ἱστορίαν ἐπιβαίνοντα, ἐπιστῶ-
 ν μείσι, ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες τῇ τῇ αἰ-πῶν
 ὁ ἔντες ἄλλοι, μὲν τῇ τῇ καὶ ἐ-
 στείαις ὅδοις καὶ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ, τῇ τῇ πο-
 μίσις οἰδεῖν ἐκὼ αἰ-πῶν, τῇ τῇ μέγαν.

Καὶ τῇ τῇ μὲν ὅτι πάντα ἐπὶ ἔρχων δει-
 ἐκ-ποισμένα τῇ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐπὶ μέλλουσι
 ἀποδείξασθαι ἱστορίᾳ σιμεργὸς τῇ ἡγ-μὴν.

III. Τῷ δὲ γε μὲν αἰ-πῶν ἡγ-μὴν μέλλει δει-
 ἱστορίᾳ τῇ τῇ μὲν ὅπως καλλιερῆται τοῖς
 θεοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱστορίου, ἔπειτα ὅπως τῇ
 τομ-αῖ, ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσει.
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῇ τῇ ὅσα ἐπιδεικνύται δει-
 ὅπως ἡ δυνατὸν κάλλιστα ἐπιδείξει, τα τε ἐν
 Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τῇ Φαληροῖ
 καὶ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομιμήματα ὡς δὲ
 τούτων ἕκαστα κάλλιστα ἂν πράττοιτο, νῦν
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα¹ λέξω.

2 Τὰς μὲν οὖν τομπὰς οἶομαι αἱ καὶ τοῖς
 θεοῖς κεχαρισμειωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι,
 εἰ ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστί,
 ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ²
 περιελαύνουεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς

¹ ταῦτα is omitted by S with ML.

² S with the MSS adds περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ which
 was removed by Herwerden

¹ Nothing in the sequel refers to manœuvres at Phalerum,
 accordingly it has been proposed to omit καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ as
 spurious. The Hippodrome was probably in the N.W.

fight when they know that this is their station, so is the rear rank in the event of a surprise attack in the rear, when the men there understand that it is disgraceful to leave their post. But if no order is kept there is confusion whenever the roads are narrow or rivers are being crossed, and when an action is fought no one voluntarily takes his post in the fighting line.

All these preliminaries must be thoroughly mastered by all the cavalry, if they are to give their leader unflinching support.

III Now we come to duties that the cavalry commander must perform himself. First, he must sacrifice to propitiate the gods on behalf of the cavalry, secondly, he must make the processions during the festivals worth seeing, further, he must conduct all the other obligatory displays before the people with as much splendour as possible, that is to say, the reviews in the Academy, in the Lyceum, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome¹.

These again are only brief notes, and I will now explain exactly how the details of these various functions may be carried out with most splendour.

As for the processions, I think they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators if they included a gala ride in the market place. The starting point would be the Herms², and the cavalry would ride round saluting the gods at their shrines

district of the Piraeus. This treatise gives the only information that we possess about these functions.

¹ The Herms stood in two rows between the 'Stoa Basileios' and the 'Poecile'. The Eleusinium probably lay at the western foot of the Acropolis. See Frazer *Pausanias* vol II, p 121 and p 131. Some think the site was at the east foot.

Διοι σείοις δὲ οἱ χερσὶ προσπιχμαρίζονται ἄλλοι
τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεκα χερσίωνται.

Ἰ-εἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαῖς γίνονται
περιηλαστές, ἐπεὶ ὅταν καλὸν μοι δοκῇ εἶναι
κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνέλθαι τοῖς ἵπποις μέχρι
3 τοῦ Ἰλειαίου. οἷδ' ὁράτα μὲν παραλείψν
ὡς ἤιστα ἂν ἀλλήλοισι ἐπαλλύτοιο. δεῖ γὰρ
μεταξὺ τοῖν ὅποιν τοῦ ἵππου ἑαστον σχεῖν, ἃ
μέλλει φοβερὰ τε καὶ εἰκρινῇ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἅμα
πολλὰ φανείσθαι.

Ἰ-εἰδὼν δὲ τῆς εἰς τάχος διελεύσεως λήξωσι
τὴν ἄλλην ἡδὴ καλὸν σχέδην εἰς τὰ ἱερά, ὑπὲρ
καὶ πρόσθεν, ἐιελαΐειν. καὶ οὕτως ὅσα ἔστιν
ἡδὴ ἐν ἱ-πῳ ἀιαβεσθαιμένοι, πάντα ἐπιδεδειγμένα
ἔσται καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

6 Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ εἰθισμένοι ποιεῖν οἱ
ἵπτεῖς εἰσιν, οἶδα· γινώσκω δέ, ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ
καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ἡδέα ἔσται. αἰσθάιωμα
δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα τοὺς ἱππίας κεκακουργηκότας,
ἐπεὶ οἱ ἱππάρχοι ἱκαῖοι ἐγένοντο
πεῖσαι ἢ ἡβουλήθησαν.

7 Ὅταν γε μὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοντισμοῦ διελαύνωσιν
ἐν Λυκείῳ, καλὸν ἑκατέρας τὰς πέντε φυλὰς ἐπὶ
μετώτου ἐλαύνειν ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ἡγουμένου
τοῦ ἱππάρχου καὶ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐν τοιαύτῃ
τάξει, ἀφ' ἧς πληρώσεται τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πλάτος.
ἐπειδὴν δ' ὑπερβάλωσι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντι-
προσώπου θεάτρου, χρήσιμον ἂν οἶμαι φανῆναι
καὶ εἰ καθ' ὁπόσους μέτριον εἰς τὸ κᾶταντες

¹ The Greek text is unreliable here.

² The Theatre of Dionysus, facing them as they come westwards from the Lyceum

and statues So at the Great Dionysia the dance of the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the Twelve and to other gods

When the circuit is completed and the cavalcade is again near the Herms, the next thing to do, I think, is to gallop at top speed by regiments as far as the Eleusinium I will add a word on the ³ position in which the lances should be held to prevent crossing Every man should point his lance between his horse's ears, if the weapons are to look fearsome, stand out distinctly, and at the same time to convey the impression of numbers

The gallop finished and the goal reached, the right ⁴ plan is to ride back to the temples by the same route, but at a slow pace thus every effect that can be obtained from a horse with a man on his back¹ will be included in the display, to the satisfaction of gods and men alike

I know that our cavalymen are not accustomed to ⁵ these movements but I am sure that they are desirable and beautiful, and will delight the spectators I am aware, too, that the cavalry have exhibited other novel feats of skill in days when the cavalry commanders had sufficient influence to get their wishes carried out

During the parade at the Lyceum, before the ⁶ javelin throwing, the right way is to ride in two divisions in line of battle, each division consisting of five regiments with its commander at the head and the colonels, and the line should be so extended that the whole breadth of the course will be covered As soon as they reach the highest point looking ⁷ down on the Theatre opposite,² I think it would clearly be useful if you displayed your men's ability

- δυναμίους ταχὺ ἐλαίειν ἐ-ιδείξαις τοὺς ἰ-ίας
 8 οὐ μέντοι ἀγιστῶν, ὅ-τι ἡ μὲν πιστεῖνσι δυνήσε
 σθαι ταχὺ ἐλαίειν, αὐτῶν αἱ ἡδέως ἐ-ιδείξαιντο.
 ἡν δὲ ἀμελέτητοι εἴσιν, ὁρᾶν χρή. ὅ-ως μὴ οἱ
 πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀναγκάσουσιν.
- 9 Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις ἡ μὲν τάξις
 εἴρηται, μεθ' ἧς ἂν κάλλιστα ἰ-άξοιτο. ἡν
 δ' ὁ ἡγούμενος, ἡν-ερ ἔλη δυιατὸν ἵππον, ἐν τῷ
 ἔξωθεν αἰετὶ στίχῳ περιφέρηται, οὕτως αὐτὸς μὲν
 αἰετὶ ταχὺ ἐλάει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξωθεν γιγνόμενοι
 πάλιν αὐτῷ ταχὺ ἐλῶσιν· ὥστε ἡ μὲν βουλὴ αἰετὶ
 τὸ ταχὺ ἐλαυνόμεον θεύσε-αι, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οὐκ
 ἀπεροῦσιν ἐν μέρει ἀναυόμενοι.
- 10 Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἰ-ποδρόμῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις
 ᾖ, καλὸν μὲν οὕτω πρῶτον τάξασθαι, ὥς ἂν ἐ-λ
 μετώπου ἐμπλήσαντες ἵππων τὸν ἰππόδρομον
- 11 ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους. καλὸν
 δ', ἐπεὶ αἱ φυλαὲ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσιν τε
 ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσι ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἵπταρχοί
 ἡγῶνται ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἐκατέρας διελαύνειν
 τὰς φυλάς δι' ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θέας
 τό τε ἀντιμετώπους προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις
 γοργὸν τό τε διελάσαντας τὸν ἰππόδρομον
 ἀντίους πάλιν στήναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνὸν καὶ
 τὸ ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος αὐτὸ δεύτερον θᾶττον ἐπε-
- 12 λαύνειν καλόν. στάντας δὲ ἤδη τὸ τρίτον αὐτὸ
 ἀπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος χρή τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις

¹ The allusion is not to the inspection of recruits by the Council, but to the manœuvres enumerated in c. iii 1. The formation is that proposed in c. ii

² As it is not known precisely what evolutions took place

to gallop downhill in fairly large companies To be 8
 sure, I know well enough that, if they feel confident
 of their ability to gallop, they will welcome the
 opportunity of showing off their skill but you
 must see that they are not short of practice, or
 the enemy will compel them to do it against their
 will.

The formation that would add most to the beauty 9
 of the exercises at the inspections¹ has already been
 explained Provided his horse is strong enough, the
 leader should ride round with the file that is on the
 outside every time He will be galloping all the
 time himself, and the file whose turn it is to be on
 the outside with him will also be galloping Thus
 the eyes of the Council will always be on the
 galloping file, and the horses will get a breathing
 space, resting by turns²

When the Hippodrome is the scene of the display, 10
 the right plan would be that the men should first be
 drawn up on a front broad enough to fill the
 Hippodrome with horses and drive out the people
 standing there In the sham fight when the 11
 regiments pursue and fly from one another at the
 gallop in two squadrons of five regiments, each side
 led by its commander, the regiments should ride
 through one another How formidable they will look
 when they charge front to front, how imposing when,
 after sweeping across the Hippodrome, they stand
 facing one another again, how splendid, when the
 trumpet sounds and they charge once more at a
 quicker pace! After the halt, the trumpet should 12
 sound once more, and they should charge yet a
 at the displays, it is impossible to make out what changes
 Xenophon proposes.

ἐπελαύνειν καὶ διελάσαιτας εἰς κατάλυσιν ἤδη
 ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἅπαντας καταστάντας, ὥσπερ
 13 εἰώθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελαύνειν. ταῦτά
 μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικώτερα τε φαίνεσθαι ἢ καὶ
 καινότερα. τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων
 ἐλαύνειν, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἱππεύειν
 οὐκ ἄξιον ἱππαρχίας.

14 "Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ
 ἱππεύειν δέῃ, ἔχω τάδε παραινέσαι· εἰς μὲν τὸ
 μὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀπὸ¹ τῶν ἵππων ὑπτίους
 ἀναπεπτωκότας ἐλαύνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν
 τοὺς ἵππους ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς,
 τὰ μέντοι ὀρθὰ ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν χρή· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ
 ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ καλὸν θεύσεται ἡ βουλή.

IV. Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς πορείαις αἰεὶ δεῖ τὸν ἱππαρ-
 χον προνοεῖν, ὅπως ἀναπαύῃ μὲν τῶν ἵππων τὰς
 ἑδρας, ἀναπαύῃ δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας τῷ² βαδίζειν
 μέτριον μὲν ὀχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα
 τοῦ δὲ μετρίου ἐννοῶν οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις
 αὐτὸς γὰρ μέτρον ἕκαστος τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν
 ὑπερπονούντας.

2 "Ὅταν μέντοι ἀδήλου ὄντος, εἰ πολεμίοις
 ἐντεύξει, πορεύῃ ποι, κατὰ μέρος χρή τὰς φυλάς
 ἀναπαύειν. χαλεπὸν γάρ, εἰ πᾶσι καταβεβη-
 κόσι πλησιάσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι.

3 Καὶ ἦν μὲν γε διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν ἐλαύνῃς,
 ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως εἰς κέρας ἡγητέον· ἦν δὲ
 πλατείαις ἐπιτυγχάνῃς ὁδοῖς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλ-
 σεως αὖ πλατυντέον τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τὸ

¹ ἀπὸ B: ποτε S. with the other MSS.

² τῷ Herwerden: τοῦ S. with the MSS.

third time at top speed; and when they have crossed, they should all range themselves in battle line preparatory to being dismissed, and ride up to the Council, just as you are accustomed to do. I 13 think that these manœuvres would look more like war and would have the charm of novelty. It is unworthy of his high rank that a cavalry commander should gallop at a slower pace than the colonels, and ride in the same way as they do.

When the ride is to take place in the Academy on 14 the hard ground, I have the following recommendations to make. To avoid being thrown the riders should throw the body back in charging, and collect their horses when wheeling, to keep them from falling. In the straight, however, they should gallop. The Council will thus watch a safe as well as a beautiful performance.

IV During a march the cavalry commander must always think ahead, in order that he may rest the horses backs and relieve the men by walking, giving moderate spells of alternate riding and marching. You can't misjudge what is a moderate spell, since every man is himself the measure¹ that will show you when they are getting tired.

But when it is uncertain whether you will en- 2 counter an enemy on your way to any place, you must give the regiments a rest in turn. For it would be a bad job if all the men were dismounted when the enemy is close at hand.

If you are riding along narrow roads, the order 3 must be given to form column, but when you find yourself on broad roads, the order must be given to

¹ Perhaps a reference to the theory of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things."

every regiment to extend front When you reach open ground, all the regiments must be in line of battle Incidentally these changes of order are good for practice, and help the men to get over the ground more pleasantly by varying the march with cavalry manœuvres

When riding on difficult ground away from roads, 4 whether in hostile or friendly country, it is very useful to have some of the *vidés de camp* in advance of each regiment, that they may find a way round into the open in case they come across pathless woodland, and show the men what line they should follow, so that whole companies may not go astray

If your route lies in dangerous country, a prudent 5 commander will have a second advanced guard ahead of his scouts for reconnaissance purposes For it is useful both for attack and defence to discover an enemy as far off as possible It is useful also to halt at the passage of a river, that the rear guard may not wear out their horses in chasing their leader These rules, no doubt, are familiar to nearly everybody, but few will take the trouble to observe them

A cavalry commander should be at pains even in 6 time of peace to acquaint himself with hostile and friendly country alike In case he is without personal experience, he should at least consult the men in the force who have the best knowledge of various localities For the leader who knows the roads has a great advantage over one who does not In making plans against the enemy, too, a knowledge of the district makes a great difference

* δι' ἐπικινδύνων B ἐπὶ κινδύνων S with the other MSS

* πολὺ Dindorf πάντῃ S with the MSS

* ηγουμένοι δ Dindorf ὁ ηγούμενος S with the MSS

- 7 Καὶ κατασκόπων δὲ πρὶν πόλεμον εἶναι δεῖ
 μεμεληκέναι, ὅπως ἔσονται καὶ ἐκ πόλεων ἀμφοτέ-
 ροις φιλίων καὶ ἐξ ἐμπόρων· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις
 τοὺς εἰσάγοντάς τι αἰεὶ ὥς εὐμενεῖς δέχονται· καὶ
 8 ψευδαυτόμολοι δ' ἔστιν ὅτε χρήσιμον. οὐ μέντοι
 τοῖς γε κατασκόποις δεῖ ποτε πιστεύοντα φυ-
 λακῆς ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ οὕτως κατεσκευάσθαι
 χρή, ὥσπερ ἦν ἡξοντες εἰσηγγελλόμενοι ὥσιν οἱ
 πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν πάνυ πιστοὶ ὥσιν οἱ κατά-
 σκοποι, χαλεπὸν ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλειν· πολλὰ
 γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμπόδια ἐμπίπτει.
- 9 Τὰς γε μὴν ἐξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἡττον ἂν
 οἱ πολέμιοι αἰσθάνοιντο, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως
 γίγνοντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ κήρυκος ἢ ἀπὸ
 προγραφῆς. ἀγαθὸν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ¹ διὰ
 παραγγέλσεως ἐξάγειν τὸ δεκαδάρχους καθιστάναι
 πεμπάδάρχοι παράγοντες, ὅποτε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη.
- 10 "Οταν γε μὴν προφυλάττειν δέῃ, ἐγὼ μὲν αἰεὶ
 ἐπαινῶ τὰς κρυπτὰς σκοπὰς τε καὶ φυλακάς·
 οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων φυλακαὶ γίγνονται,
 ἅμα δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι κατασκευάζονται.
- 11 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δυσεπιβουλευτότεροί εἰσιν ἀφανεῖς
 ὄντες, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις φοβερώτεροι. τὸ γὰρ
 εἰδέναι μὲν, ὅτι εἰσὶ που φυλακαί, ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ
 καὶ ὁπόσαι μὴ εἰδέναι, τοῦτο θαρρεῖν μὲν κωλύει
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑποπτεῦειν δὲ ἀναγκάζει πάντα

¹ τὸ B: τφ S with the other MSS.

² ἐπὶ added by Schneider: καὶ τοῖς B: καὶ τοῖς τε the other MSS.: καὶ τοῖς δὲ S.

You must also have taken steps to enlist the 7
 services of spies before the outbreak of war. Some
 of these should be citizens of neutral states, and
 some merchants, since all states invariably welcome
 the importer of merchandise. Sham deserters,
 too, have their use on occasions. Still, you must 8
 never neglect to post guards through reliance on
 spies, on the contrary, your precautions must at all
 times be as complete as when you have information
 that the enemy is approaching. For even if the
 spies are entirely reliable, it is difficult to report at
 the critical moment, since many things happen in
 war to hinder them.

The advance of cavalry is less likely to be detected 9
 by the enemy if orders are not given by a herald or
 in writing beforehand, but passed along. Accordingly,
 for this purpose, too, that the order to advance may
 be given by word of mouth, it is well to post file
 leaders, and half file leaders¹ behind them, so that
 each may pass the word to as few men as possible.
 Thus, too, the half file leaders will wheel and extend
 the line without confusion, whenever there is
 occasion to do so.

When it is necessary to keep a look out, I am all 10
 in favour of the plan of having hidden outposts and
 guards. For these serve at once as guards to protect
 your friends and snares to trap the enemy. And the 11
 men, being unseen, are more secure themselves and
 at the same time more formidable to the enemy.
 For the enemy, conscious that there are outposts
 somewhere, but ignorant of their whereabouts and
 their strength, feels nervous and is forced to suspect

¹ These form the sixth rank

- τὰ χωρία· αἱ δὲ φανεραὶ φυλακαὶ δῆλα παρέ-
 12 χουσι¹ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ εὐθαρσῆ. ἔτι δὲ
 τῷ μὲν κρυπτὰς ἔχοντι φυλακὰς ἐξέσται μὲν
 φανεροῖς ὀλίγοις ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν φυλάτ-
 τοντα πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς ἐνέδρας
 ὑπάγειν. ὑγρευτικὸν δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν
 ἄλλοις φανεροῖς ἔστιν ὅτε φυλάττειν· καὶ τοῦτο
 γὰρ ἑξαπατητικὸν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμοίως τῷ
 πρόσθεν εἰρημένῳ.
- 13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν φρονίμου γε ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸ μήποτε
 κινδυνεύειν ἐκόντα, πλὴν ὅπου ἂν πρόδηλον ᾖ,
 ὅτι πλεον ἔξει τῶν πολεμίων· τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν
 τὰ ἡδιστα τοῖς πολεμίους προδοσία τῶν συμ-
 μάχων δικαίως ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρεία κρίνοιτο.
- 14 σῶφρον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὁρμᾶν, ὅπου ἂν ὑσθενῇ
 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ, κἂν πρόσω ὄντα τυγχάνῃ.
 τὸ γὰρ σφόδρα πονῆσαι ἀκινδυνότερον ἢ πρὸς
- 15 τοὺς κρείττους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ἦν δέ πη εἰς μέσον
 φιλίων τειχέων εἰσίσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κἂν πολὺ
 κρείττους ὄντες, καλὸν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν
 ὁποτέρῳθι ἂν λελήθης παρών, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἅμα
 ἀμφοτέρῳθεν. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἕτεροι ἀποχωρῶσιν,
 οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐλαύνοντες ταραττοῖεν μὲν
 ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους, σώζοιεν δ' ἂν τοὺς φίλους.
- 16 Καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ κατασκόπων πειρᾶσθαι εἰδέναι
 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πάλαι εἴρηται ὥς ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζω εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸν
 πειρᾶσθαι, ἦν ἢ ποθεν ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς, θεώμενον
- 17 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρεῖν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνωσι. καὶ
 τὸ μὲν κλαπῆναι δυνατὸν πέμπειν χρή τοὺς
 ἐπιτηδεῖους κλέψοντας, τὸ δ' ἀρπασθῆναι ἐγχω-

¹ παρέχουσι Rühl: ἔχουσι S. with the MSS.

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every possible position; whereas visible outposts show them where danger lies and where all is safe. Besides, if you conceal your outposts, you will have 12 the chance of luring the enemy into an ambush by placing a few guards in the open to screen the hidden men. Occasionally, too, a cunning trap may be laid by posting a second body of exposed guards behind the men in hiding, for this plan may prove as deceptive to the enemy as the one just referred to.

A prudent commander will never take risks unnecessarily, except when it is clear beforehand that he will have the advantage of the enemy. To play into the enemy's hand may surely be considered treachery to one's allies rather than courage. Another sound principle is to go for any position 14 where the enemy is weak, even if it is a long way off, since hard work is less dangerous than a struggle against superior forces. But if the enemy places 15 himself somewhere between yourself and fortresses friendly to you, then it is proper to attack him, even if he is greatly superior, on that side where your presence is unsuspected, or on both flanks at once, for when one part of your force is retiring, a charge on the opposite flank will flurry the enemy and rescue your friends.

It is an old maxim that, in attempting to discover 16 what the enemy is about, it is well to employ spies. But the best plan of all, in my opinion, is for the commander himself to watch the enemy from some safe coign of vantage, if possible, and take notice of his mistakes. And when anything can be filched by 17 cunning, you should send likely men to steal it, and when anything may be seized you should despatch

ροῦν ἐφίεναι τοὺς ἀρπάσσοντας. ἦν δὲ τορευο-
 μέων ποι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαρτᾶται τι ἀσθειέ-
 στερον τῆς αὐτοῦ δυιᾶμεως ἢ θαρροῦν ἀποσκε-
 δαννύηται, οὐδὲ ταῦτα χρὴ λανθάνειν· αἰ μέντοι
 τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον θηρᾷ.

- 18 Δυνατὸν δὲ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ταῦτα καταμαν-
 θάνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βραχυγυνωμοιέστερα ἀνθρώπου
 θηρία οἳ τε ἱκτινοὶ δύσανται ὁ ἂν ἀφύλακτον ἢ
 ἀφαρπάσαντες εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὶν
 ληφθῆναι καὶ οἱ λύκοι δὲ τὰ τε ἐρημούμενα
 φυλακῆς ἀγρεύουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δυσοράτοις
 19 κλέπτουσι, καὶ μεταθέων γέ τις ἐπιγίγνηται
 κύων, ἦν μὲν ἥττων ἢ τούτῳ ἐπιτίθεται ἦν δὲ
 κρείττων, ἀποσπάσας¹ ὁ τι ἂν ἔχη ἀποχωρεῖ
 ὅταν δέ γε φυλακῆς καταφρονήσωσι λύκοι,
 τάξαντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπελαύνειν τὴν
 φυλακὴν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρπάζειν, οὕτω τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
 20 πορίζονται θηρίων γε μὴν δυιαμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα
 φρονιμῶς λήϊζεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα
 εἰκὸς σοφώτερον τούτων φαίνεσθαι, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ
 τέχνη ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου ἀλίσκεται;

- V. Κακεῖνο γε μὴν εἰδέναι ἵππικοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐκ
 πόσου ἂν ἵππος πεζὸν ἔλοι καὶ ἐξ ὀπόσου βραδεῖς
 ἂν ἵπποι ταχεῖς ἀποφύγοιεν ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ
 χωρία γινώσκειν, ἔνθα πεζοὶ κρείττους ἵππέων
 2 καὶ ἔνθα πεζῶν κρείττους ἵππεῖς χρὴ δὲ μηχανη-
 τικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν φαίνεσθαι τοὺς
 ὀλίγους ἱπτέας, πάλιν δ' ὀλίγους τοὺς πολλοὺς
 καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν παροντα μὲν ἀπεῖναι, ἀπόντα δὲ
 παρεῖναι καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον
 κλέπτειν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ

¹ ἀποσπάσας Courier ἀποσφάσας S with the MSS.

troops to seize it. If the enemy is marching on some objective and a part of his force weaker than your own separates from the main body or straggles carelessly, the chance must not be missed, the hunter, however, must always be stronger than the hunted.

You can see the point of this if you consider 18
Even wild creatures less intelligent than man, such as hawks, will grab unguarded plunder and get away into a place of safety before they can be caught. Wolves, again, prey on anything left unprotected and steal things lying in holes and corners; and if a dog does pursue and overtake him, 19 the wolf, if stronger than the dog, attacks him, or if weaker, snatches away the prize and makes off. Moreover, when a pack of wolves feels no fear of a convoy, they arrange themselves so that some shall drive off the convoy, and others seize the plunder, and thus they get their food. Well, if wild beasts 20 show such sagacity, surely any man may be expected to show more wisdom than creatures that are themselves taken by the skill of man.

V Every horseman should know at what distance a horse can overtake a man on foot, and how much start a slow horse needs to escape from a fast one. A cavalry commander should also be able to judge of the ground where infantry has an advantage over cavalry and where cavalry has an advantage over infantry. He must also have sufficient ingenuity to 2 make a small company of horse look large, and conversely, to make a large one look small, to seem to be absent when present, and present when absent, to know how to deceive, not merely how to steal the enemy's possessions, but also how to conceal

ἵππεας ἅμα κλέπτοιντα ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου τοῖς
 3 πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχανήματα καὶ
 τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχῃ,
 φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥς μὴ
 ἐπιθῶνται· ὅταν δ' ἐρρωμένως, θάρρος αὐτοῖς
 ἐμποιεῖν, ὥς ἐγχειρῶσιν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἂν ἦκιστα κακῶς πάσχοις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
 μάλιστα ἂν ἁμαρτάνοντας λαμβάνοις.

4 "Ὅπως δὲ μὴ προστάττειν δοκῶ ἀδύνατα,
 γράψω καὶ ὥς ἂν γίγνοιτο τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῶν
 χαλεπώτατα εἶναι.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐγχειροῦντα
 διώκειν ἢ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐμπειρία ποιεῖ ἵππων
 δυνάμεως. πῶς δ' ἂν ἐμπείρως ἔχοις; εἰ προσ-
 ἔχοις¹ τὸν νοῦν ἐν ταῖς μετὰ φιλίας ἀνθιπ-
 πασίαις οἷοι² ἀποβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν διώξεων τε
 καὶ φυγῶν.

5 "Ὅταν μέντοι βούλῃ τοὺς ἵππεας πολλοὺς
 φαίνεσθαι, ἐν μὲν πρῶτον ὑπαρχέτω, ἥνπερ
 ἐγχωρῇ, μὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγχειρεῖν ἑξα-
 πατᾶν· καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ πρόσω καὶ
 ἀπατητικώτερον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι
 ἀθρόοι μὲν ἵπποι πολλοὶ φαίνονται διὰ τὸ
 μέγεθος τοῦ ζώου, διασπειρόμενοι δ' ἐναρίθμητοι
 6 γίνονται. ἔτι δ' ἂν πλεῖόν σοι τὸ ἵππικόν τοῦ
 ὄντος φαίνοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἵπποκόμους εἰς τοὺς
 ἵππεας ἐνισταίης μάλιστα μὲν δόρατα, εἰ δὲ μή,
 ὅμοια δόρασιν ἔχοντας, ἥν τε ἐστηκὸς ἐπιδεικνύης
 τὸ ἵππικόν ἥν τε παράγης· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν
 ὄγκον τῆς τάξεως οὕτω μείζω τε καὶ πυκνότερον
 φαίνεσθαι.

7 Ἦν δ' αὖ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀλίγους βούλῃ³ δοκεῖν

his own force and fall on the enemy unexpectedly. Another next ruse is to create a scare among the 3 enemy when your own position is precarious, so that he may not attack, and to put him in good heart, when it is strong, so that he may make an attempt. Thus you are least likely to come to harm yourself and most likely to catch the enemy tripping.

That I may not seem to demand impossibilities, I 4 will add a solution of the problems that seem most puzzling.

Success in an attempt to pursue or retreat depends on experience of horses and their powers. But how are you to get this experience? By watching the friendly encounters of the sham fights and noticing what condition the horses are in after the pursuits and flights.

When your object is to make the number of your 5 cavalry look large, first take it for an axiom, if possible, not to attempt the ruse when you are near the enemy for distance gives safety and increases the illusion. Secondly you must know that horses look many when crowded, owing to the animals' size, but are easily counted when scattered. Another way of 6 exaggerating the apparent strength of your force is to arm the grooms with lances or even imitation lances, and put them between the cavalrymen, whether you display the cavalry at the halt or wheel it into line. Thus the bulk of the company is bound to look denser and more massive.

On the other hand, if your object is to make a 7

¹ ἔχουσ and προσέχουσ Krüger ἔχουσ and προσέχουσ S with the MSS

² αἰα Lenkiau αἰα S with the Aldine ed. αἰα MSS

³ βούλη B S omits with the other MSS

εἶναι, ἣν μὲν σοι χωρία ὑπάρχῃ οἷα συγκρύπτειν, δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἔχων, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὸ ἄδηλον ἀποκρύπτων κλέπτοις αἰετὶς τοὺς ἵππείας· ἣν δὲ πᾶν καταφανὲς ἢ τὸ χωρίον δεκάδας χρὴ στοιχοῦσας ποιήσαντα διαλειπούσας παράγειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἵππείας ἐκάστης δεκάδος ὀρθὰ τὰ δόρατα ἔχειν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταπεινὰ καὶ μὴ ὑπερφανῇ.

8 Φοβεῖν γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ψευδενέδρας οἷόν τε καὶ ψευδοβοηθείας καὶ ψευδαγγελίας ποιοῦντα. θαρροῦσι δὲ μάλιστα πολέμιοι, ὅταν ὄντα¹ τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράγματα καὶ ἀσχολίας πυνθάνωνται.

9 Τούτων δὲ γεγραμμένων μηχανᾶσθαι αὐτὸν χρὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αἰετὶ ἀπατᾶν· ὧντος γὰρ οὐδὲν
10 κερδαλεώτερον ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπάτης· ὁπότε γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὅταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα, δύνανται ἀπατᾶν προΐσχοντες ὥστε ὀλίγους τ' ἔχοντες πολλοὺς δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς προέχοντες ὀλίγους φαίνεσθαι ἔχειν, πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρες γε τῶν ἐξαπατᾶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν δύναιντ' αἰετὶ
11 τοιαῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι; καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος δ' αἰετὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεοικτήματα εὖροι ἂν τι τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ γεγεννημένα ὧν ἕνεκα ἢ οὐκ ἐγχειρητέον ἄρχειν ἢ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτητέον δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ μηχανητέον.

12 Οἷς δὲ θάλαττα πρόσσεστιν, ἀπάτητικόν καὶ τὸ πλοῖα παρασκευαζόμενον πεζῇ τι πράξαι καὶ τὸ

¹ ὄντα added by Madvig.

² γὰρ Ribitt: γ· S. with the MSS.

large number look small, then, assuming that your ground affords cover, you can obviously conceal your cavalry by having part in the open and part hidden. If, however, the whole of the ground is exposed, you must form the files into rows and wheel, leaving a gap between each two rows¹, and the men in each file who are next the enemy must hold their lances upright, while the rest keep theirs low down out of sight.

The means to employ for scaring the enemy are 8
false ambuscades, false reliefs and false information.
An enemy's confidence is greatest when he is told that
the other side is in difficulties and is preoccupied.

But given these instructions, a man must himself 9
invent a ruse to meet every emergency as it occurs.
For there is really nothing more profitable in war than
deception. Even children are successful deceivers 10
when they play "Guess the number", they will hold
up a counter or two and make believe that they have
got a fist full, and seem to hold up few when they
are holding many, so surely men can play similar
tricks when they are intent on deceiving in earnest.
And on thinking over the successes gained in war 11
you will find that most of them, and these the
greatest, have been won with the aid of deception.
For these reasons either you should not essay to
command, or you should pray to heaven that your
equipment may include this qualification, and you
should contrive on your own part to possess it.

For those near the sea two effective ruses are, 12
to strike on land while fitting out ships, and to

¹ The enemy will not know (a) the number of files when posted one behind another, nor (b) the depth of the line when the files have wheeled.

πεζῇ προσποιούμενον ἐπιβουλεύειν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιχειρῆσαι.

13 Ἴππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἀσθενὲς τὸ πεζῶν ἔρημον ἵππικὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς ἔχον. ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι· ἔστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐντός,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπισθεν ἱππέων² ἀποκρύψασθαι· πολὺ γὰρ μείζων ὁ ἵππεὺς τοῦ πεζοῦ.

14 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐγὼ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις τις μηχανήσεται ἢ βία ἢ τέχνη αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους βουλόμενος σὺν τῷ θεῷ πράττειν συμβουλεύω, ἵνα καὶ ἡ τύχη³ συνεπαινῇ θεῶν ἔλεων ὄντων.

15 Ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάννυ ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ λίαν φυλακτικὸν προσποιήσασθαι εἶναι καὶ μηδαμῶς φιλοκίνδυνον· τοῦτο γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις προάγεται ἀφυλακτοῦντας μᾶλλον ἀμαρτάνειν. ἦν δ' ἅπαξ δόξη τις φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι, ἔξεστι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, προσποιούμενον δὲ πράξειν τι πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχειν.

VI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν τις δύναίτο πλάσαι οἶον βούλεται, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν γε πλάττοιο παρεσκευασμένα εἴη ὥς πείθεσθαι τῇ τοῦ χειροτέχνου γνώμῃ· οὐδέ γ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ σὺν θεῷ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται, ὥς φιλικῶς τε ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονιμώτερον σφῶν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγώνων.

2 Εὐνοϊκῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε εἰκὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὅταν φιλοφρόνως τε ἔχῃ πρὸς

¹ ἐντός Herwerden: ἐν τούτοις S. with the MSS.

² ἱππέων Dindorf: ἱππων S. with the MSS.

attack by sea while ostensibly planning a land attack

Another duty of a cavalry commander is to 13 demonstrate to the city the weakness of cavalry destitute of infantry as compared with cavalry that has infantry attached to it. Further, having got his infantry, a cavalry commander should make use of it. A mounted man being much higher than a man on foot, infantry may be hidden away not only among the cavalry but in the rear as well

For the practical application of these devices and 14 any others you may contrive for the undoing of your foes by force or craft, I counsel you to work with God, so that, the gods being propitious, fortune too may favour you

Another ruse that proves highly effective at times 15 is to feign excess of caution and reluctance to take risks. For this pretence often lures the enemy into making a more fatal blunder through want of caution. Or once come to be thought venturesome, and you can give the enemy trouble by merely sitting still and pretending that you are on the point of doing something

VI However, no man can mould anything to his mind unless the stuff in which he proposes to work lies ready to obey the artist's will. No more can you make anything of men, unless, by God's help, they are ready to regard their commander with friendly feelings and to think him wiser than themselves in the conduct of operations against the enemy

Now the feeling of loyalty will naturally be 2 fostered when the commander is kind to his men,

¹ ἡ τύχη Courier τῇ τύχῃ S with the MSS.

- αὐτοὺς καὶ προνοῶν φαίνεται, ὅπως τε σῖτοι
 ἔξουσιν καὶ ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἀποχωρήσουσιν.
 3 πεφυλαγμένως δὲ ἀναπαύσονται. ἐν δὲ ταῖς
 φρουραῖς χρὴ καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σκηνῶν καὶ ὑδάτων
 καὶ φρυγάνων¹ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων φανε-
 ρὸν εἶναι ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ προνοοῦντά τε καὶ
 ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ὅταν
 γε πλεον ἔχη τι, τὸ μεταδοῦναι κερδαλέον τῷ
 προεστηκότι.
 4 "Ἡκιστα δ' ἂν καταφρονοῖεν ἄρχοντος, ὥς μὲν
 συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ ὅποσα ἐκείνοις παραινοίη,
 αὐτὸς ταῦτα βέλτιον ἐκείνων φαίνοιτο ποιοῦν.
 5 ἀρξάμενον οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἵππους πάντα τὰ ἐν ἱππικῇ μελετᾶν, ὅπως ὀρώσι
 τὸν ἄρχοντα δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τά-
 φρους ἀσφαλῶς περᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπερακρίζειν
 καὶ ἀπ' ὄχθων καταίρειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἱκανῶς.
 6 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα προκόπτει τι εἰς τὸ μὴ κατα-
 φρονεῖσθαι. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ τάττειν² γινώσιν ἐπι-
 σταμενόν τε καὶ δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν, ὥς
 ἂν πλεον ἔχοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
 κακεῖνο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γνώμην, ὥς οὐτ' ἂν
 εἰκὴ οὐτ' ἄνευ θεῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἡγήσαιτ'
 ἂν ἐπὶ πολεμίους, πάντα ταῦτα πιθανωτέρους τῷ
 ἄρχοντι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ποιεῖ.

VII. Παντὶ μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἄρχοντι φρονίμῳ
 εἶναι· πολὺ μὲντοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἵππαρχον δια-
 φέρειν δεῖ καὶ τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ τῷ
 πολεμικὸν εἶναι, ᾧ γε ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ὁμοιοὶ
 ἀντίπαλοι ἱππεῖς τε παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ
 2 ὀπλῖται πολλοί. καὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν
 ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιχειρῇ ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως, πρὸς

and obviously takes care that they have victuals, and that they are safe in retreat and well protected when at rest. In the garrisons he must show an interest in fodder, tents, water, firewood, and all other supplies: he must show that he thinks ahead and keeps his eyes open for the sake of his men. And when he is doing well the chief's best policy is to give them a share in his good things.

To put it shortly, a commander is least likely to incur the contempt of his men if he shows himself more capable than they of doing whatever he requires of them. He must therefore practise every detail of horsemanship—mounting and the rest,—that they may see their commander able to take a ditch without a spill, clear a wall, leap down from a bank and throw a javelin skilfully. For all these feats are so many stepping stones to their respect. If they know him also to be a master of tactics and able to put them in the way of getting the better of the enemy, and if besides, they are certain that he will never lead them against an enemy recklessly or without the gods' approval or in defiance of the sacrifices, all these conditions increase the men's readiness to obey their commander.

VII Every commander, then, should have intelligence. The Athenian cavalry commander, however, should excel greatly both in the observance of his duty to the gods and in the qualities of a warrior, seeing that he has on his borders rivals in the shape of cavalry as numerous as his and large forces of infantry¹. And if he attempts to invade the enemy's country without

¹ The Thebans are meant

¹ φρουράων Madvig φυλακων S with the MSS

² τέρπειν B πρᾶττειν S with the other MSS

- ἀμεινότερους ταῖς τοῖς μοῖσις ἂν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι δια-
κινδυνεύει. ἦν δ' οἱ πολέμοι εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων
χώραν ἐμβάλλουσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἷς ἂν ἄλλως
ἐλθοιεν εἰ μὴ σὶν ἄλλοις τε ἰππεῦσι πρὸς τοῖς
ἐαυτῶν καὶ πρὸς ταῖς οὐλίταις ὅσοις ἂν
οἴονται πάντας Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι
3 μίχεσθαι. πρὸς οἷν τοσούτους πολεμίους ἦν
μὲν ἡ πόλις πῦσα ἐτεξίη ἀρήξουσα τῇ χώρᾳ.
ἐλπίδες καλαί. ἰππεῖς τε γὰρ σὶν θεῷ ἀμεινούς,
ἦν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῆται ὥς δεῖ, οὐλίται τε οἱ
μεινούς ἴσονται καὶ τὰ σώματα τείνιν οὐ χεῖρῳ
ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς φιλοτιμότεροι, ἦν ὀρθῶς
ἀσκηθῶσι σὶν θεῷ. καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ γε τοῖς προ-
γόνοις οὐ μείον Ἀθηναῖοι ἢ Βοιωτοὶ φροιοῦσιν.
4 ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πόλις τρέπηται ἐπὶ τὰ ναυτικά καὶ
ἀρκῇ αὐτῇ τὰ τεῖχη διασώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁπότε
Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰβάλον,
τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας ἀξιῶση¹ τὰ τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ τεύχους
διασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς μόνους διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς
πάντας τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ θεῶν μὲν
οἶμαι πρῶτον συμμάχων ἰσχυρῶν δεῖ, ἔπειτα δὲ
καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον προσήκει ἀποτετελεσμένον
ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πολλῆς
πρὸς τοὺς πολὺ πλείους καὶ τόλμης, ὁπότε καιρὸς
παραπέσοι.
- 5 Δεῖ δέ, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ πονεῖν αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν
εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα δια-
κινδυνεύων, ὧ μὴδὲ ὅλη ἡ πόλις θέλοι ἀντικαθί-

¹ ἀξιῶση Dindorf · ἀξιῶσει S with the MSS.

¹ In the Peloponnesian War.

² I have translated πονεῖν, but it is certainly not what X.

the other armed forces of the state, he will have to take his chance with the cavalry only against both arms. Or if the enemy invades Athenian territory, in the first place, he will certainly not fail to bring with him other cavalry besides his own and infantry in addition, whose numbers he reckons to be more than a match for all the Athenians put together. Now provided that the whole of the city's levies turn out against such a host in defence of their country, the prospects are good. For our cavalymen, God helping, will be the better, if proper care is taken of them, and our heavy infantry will not be inferior in numbers, and I may add, they will be in as good condition and will show the keener spirit, if only, with God's help, they are trained on the right lines. And, remember, the Athenians are quite as proud of their ancestry as the Boeotians. But if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them,¹ and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against her foes,—why then, I suppose, we need first the strong arm of the gods to aid us, and in the second place it is essential that our cavalry commander should be masterly. For much sagacity is called for in coping with a greatly superior force, and abundance of courage when the call comes.

I take it, he must also be able to stand hard work.² For if he should elect to take his chance against the army confronting him—an army that not even the whole state is prepared to stand up to—it is evident

wrote. The sequel demands the sense "he must be a man of sound judgment, *αὐτόν* (with B) *παραείν*."

- στασθαι, δῆλον ὅτι πάσχοι ἂν ὁ τι οἱ κρείττους
6 βούλονται, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴη. εἰ δὲ
φυλάττοι μὲν τὰ ἔξω τείχους τοσούτοις, ὅσοι
σκοπεύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ
ἀναχωρίζειν εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ δεόμενα ὡς ἐκ
πλείστου· ἱκανοὶ δὲ καὶ προορᾶν οὐδὲν ἦττον οἱ
ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ φυλάττειν τοίνυν καὶ
7 αὐτοῖς μήτε τοῖς ἵπποις πιστεύοντες· ὁ γὰρ
φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξ εἶναι· τοὺς μὲν
φύλακας ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ποιῶν ἴσως ὀρθῶς
βουλευόιτο· τοὺς δὲ περιττοὺς τῆς φυλακῆς εἰ
μὲν τις στρατιὰν ἔχειν ἡγήσεται, ὀλίγη αὐτῷ
φανεῖται· τοῦ παντὸς γὰρ ἐνδεήσεται ὥστε ἐκ
τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διακινδυνεύειν. ἦν δὲ ὡς λησταῖς
αὐτοῖς χρῆται, πάνυ ἂν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἱκανὴν τοῦτο
8 πράττειν ἔχοι δύναμιν. δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἀεὶ ἔχοντα ὡς ποιεῖν τι
μὴ καταφανῇ ὄντα φυλάττειν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνῃ
9 τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα. φιλοῦσι δὲ πῶς
στρατιῶται ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους ᾧσι, τοσούτῳ πλείω
ἀμαρτάνειν. ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιμελεῖα
σκεδάννυνται ἢ πορευομένων ἀταξία οἱ μὲν προ-
έρχονται, οἱ δ' ὑπολείπονται πλέον τοῦ καιροῦ.
10 τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτήματα οὐ χρὴ παριέναι
ἀκόλαστα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅλη ἡ χώρα στρατόπεδον
ἔσται· ἐκεῖνο καλῶς προνοοῦντα, ἦν ποιήσῃ τι,
φθάσαι ἀποχωρήσαντα πρὶν τὸ πολὺ βοηθοῦν
ἐπιγενέσθαι.
11 Πολλάκις δὲ πορευόμενον στράτευμα καὶ εἰς
ὁδοὺς ἔρχεται, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν πλείον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
ὀλίγων δύνανται. καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσί γε ἔστι τῷ

that he would be entirely at the mercy of the stronger and incapable of doing anything. But should he guard whatever lies outside the walls with a force that will be just sufficient to keep an eye on the enemy and to remove into safety from as great a distance as possible property that needs saving,—and a large force is not necessary for this a small force can keep a look out as well as a large one, and when it comes to guarding and removing the property of friends, men who have no confidence in themselves or their horses will meet the case, because Fear, it seems, is a formidable member of a guard—well, it may perhaps be a sound plan to draw on these men for his guards. But if he imagines that the number remaining over and above the guard constitutes an army, he will find it too small, for it will be utterly inadequate to risk a conflict in the open. Let him use these men as raiders, and he will probably have a force quite sufficient for this purpose. His business, it seems to me, is to watch for any blunder on the enemy's part without showing himself, keeping men constantly on the alert and ready to strike. It happens that, the greater is the number of soldiers, the more they are apt to blunder. Either they scatter deliberately in search of provisions, or they are so careless of order on the march that some get too far ahead, while others lag too far behind. So he must not let such blunders go unpunished, or the whole country will be occupied, only he must take good care to retire the moment he has struck, without giving time for the main supports to arrive on the scene.

An army on the march often comes to roads where large numbers have no advantage over small. In crossing rivers, again, a man with his wits about

- προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐφεπομένῳ ταμιεύ-
 σασθαι, ὥστε ὅπόσοις ἂν βούληται τῶν πολεμίων
 12 ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καλὸν καὶ στρατοπε-
 δευομένοις καὶ ἰριστῶσι καὶ δειπνοποιουμένοις
 ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐκ κοίτης γε ἀνισταμένοις. ἐν
 πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἄσπλοι στρατιῶται γίγνονται,
 μέiona μὲν χρόνον οἱ ὀπλῖται, πλείονα δὲ οἱ
 13 ἵππεῖς. σκοποῖς μέντοι καὶ προφυλακαῖς οὐδέ-
 ποτε δεῖ παύεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. οὔτοι γὰρ
 αὐτοὶ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἀεὶ καθίστανται, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ
 14 ἰσχυροῦ ἐνίστε ἀποστατοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἤδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καλὸν ἐστὶ
 σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν με-
 μελητηκότα, πόσοι τε ἐκασταχοῦ καὶ ποῦ τῆς
 χώρας προφυλάττουσιν. οὐδεμία γὰρ οὕτω καλὴ
 15 λεία ὥς φυλακαί, ἣν κρατηθῶσι. καὶ εὐέξα-
 πάτητοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες· διώκουσι γὰρ ὅ τι
 ἂν ὀλίγον ἴδωσι, νομίζοντές σφισι τοῦτο προσ-
 τετάχθαι. τὰς μέντοι ἀποχωρήσεις σκοπεῖν δεῖ
 ὅπως μὴ ἐναντίαι τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ἔσονται.

- VIII. Τοὺς μέντοι μέλλοντας δυνήσεσθαι ἀσφα-
 λῶς τὸ πολὺ κρεῖττον στράτευμα κακουργεῖν
 σαφῶς δεῖ τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν
 ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἱππικῇ
 2 ἔργῳ, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας. τοῦτο δ' ἂν
 εἴη πρῶτον μὲν εἰ οἱ ληγίζεσθαι μέλλοντες ἐκπεπο-
 νημένοι εἴεν τῇ ἐλάσει, ὥστε δύνασθαι στρατιω-
 τικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν. οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα
 ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνδρες εἰκότως ἂν
 3 ὥσπερ γυναῖκες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ
 γε δεδιδαγμένοι τε καὶ εἰθισμένοι τάφρους δια-
 πηδᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπεραίρειν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχθους
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him may dog the enemy's steps without danger and regulate according to his will the number of the enemy that he chooses to attack. Sometimes it 12 is proper to tackle the enemy while his troops are at breakfast or supper or when they are turning out of bed. For at all these moments soldiers are without arms, infantry for a shorter and cavalry for a longer time. Pickets and outposts, however, should be the 13 mark of incessant plots, these being invariably weak in numbers and sometimes remote from their main force. But when the enemy has learned to take 14 due precautions against such attacks, it is proper, with God's help, to enter his country stealthily after ascertaining his strength at various points and the position of his outposts. For no booty that you can capture is so fine as a patrol. Besides, patrols 15 are easily deceived, for they pursue a handful of men at sight, believing that to be their special duty. You must see, however, that your line of retreat does not lead you straight into the enemy's supports.

VIII It is clear, however, that no troops will be able to inflict loss on a much stronger army with impunity, unless they are so superior in the practical application of horsemanship to war that they show like experts contending with amateurs. This super- 2 iority can be attained first and foremost if your marauding bands are so thoroughly drilled in riding that they can stand the hard work of a campaign. For both horses and men that are carelessly trained in this respect will naturally be like women struggling with men. On the contrary, those that are 3 taught and accustomed to jump ditches, leap walls,

ἀνάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατιέναι καὶ τὰ κατάντη ταχὺ ἐλαύνεσθαι, οὗτοι δ' αὖ τοσοῦτον διαφέροιεν ἂν τῶν ἀμελετήτων ταῦτα ὅσονπερ πτηνοὶ πεζῶν· οἱ δέ γε αὖ τοὺς τόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι τῶν ἀτριβάστων πρὸς τραχέα ὅσονπερ ὑγιεῖς χωλῶν καὶ οἷ γε τῶν τόπων ἔμπειροι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπείρους τοσοῦτον ἐν ταῖς προελάσεσι καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσι διαφέροιεν ἂν ὅσονπερ οἱ ὀρώντες τῶν τυφλῶν.

4 Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ εὐωχούμενοι ἵπποι, ἐκπεπονημένοι δὲ ὥστε μὴ ἀποπνίγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πόνοις εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ· χρὴ δέ, ἐπεὶπερ χαλινοὶ καὶ ἐφίππια ἐξ ἱμάντων ἡρτημένα ἐστί,¹ μήποτε τὸν ἵππαρχον τούτων ἔρημον εἶναι· μικρὰ γὰρ δαπάνη τοὺς ἀποροῦντας χρησίμους ἂν παρέχοιτο

5 Εἰ δέ τις νομίζοι² πολλὰ ἔχειν ἂν³ πράγματα, εἰ οὕτω δεήσει ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικὴν, ἐνθυμηθήτω, ὅτι οἱ εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀσκούντες πολὺ πλείω πράγματα καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἔχουσιν ἢ οἱ

6 τὴν ἵππικὴν τὰ μάλιστα μελετῶντες. καὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀσκημάτων τὰ πολλὰ σὺν ἰδρῶτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς τὰ πλεῖστα μεθ' ἡδονῆς. ὅπερ γὰρ εὐξαιτ' ἂν τις πτηνὸς γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων

7 ἔργων ἔοικεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐν πολέμῳ νικᾶν πολλῷ ἐνδοξότερον⁴ ἢ πυγμῇ· μετέχει μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἡ πόλις ταυτης τῆς δόξης· ὥς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου νίκῃ καὶ εὐδαι-

¹ ἐστί Courier· ἐστὶ χρήσιμα S with the MSS

² νομίζοι BM, νομίζει S with other MSS

³ ἂν B. S omits with the other MSS

⁴ ἐνδοξότερον B: εὐδοξότερον S with the other MSS

spring up banks, leap down from heights without a spill, and gallop down steep places, will be as superior to the men and horses that lack this training as birds to beasts. Moreover, those that have their feet well hardened will differ on rough ground from the tender-footed as widely as the sound from the lame. And those that are familiar with the locality, compared with those to whom it is unfamiliar, will differ in the advance and retreat as much as men with eyes differ from the blind.

It should also be realised that horses, to be well 4
fettled, must be well fed and thoroughly exercised, so as to do their work without suffering from heaves. And since bits and saddle cloths are fastened with straps, a cavalry leader must never be short of them, for at a trifling expense he will make men in difficulties efficient.

In case anyone feels that his troubles will be 5
endless if his duty requires him to practise horsemanship in this way, let him reflect that men in training for gymnastic contests face troubles far more numerous and exacting than the most strenuous votaries of horsemanship. For most gymnastic 6
exercises are carried out with sweat and drudgery, but nearly all equestrian exercises are pleasant work.¹ For if it is true that any man would like to fly, no action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying. And, remember, it is far more glorious to win a victory 7
in war than in a boxing match, because, whereas the state as well as the victor has a considerable share in this glory,² for a victory in war the gods generally

¹ *Cyropaedia* IV. iii. 15

² He does not express himself clearly, but by "this glory" he means "the glory of a victory whether won in war or in the games."

μονία οἱ θεοὶ τὰς πόλεις στεφανοῦσιν. ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ γε, τί προσήκει ἄλλ' ἅττα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ πολεμικά. ἐννοεῖν δὲ χρή, ὅτι καὶ οἱ κατὰ θάλατταν λησταὶ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν ἡσκηκέναι δύνανται ζῆν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολὺ κρείττωνων. προσήκει γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ γῆν οὐ τοῖς καρπουμένοις τὰ ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στερισκομένοις τῆς τροφῆς ληΐζεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ ἐργαστέον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰργασμένων θρεπτέον· ἄλλως δ' οὐ ῥᾶδιον οὔτε βιοτεύειν οὔτε εἰρήνης τυχεῖν.

Μεμνήσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐκείνο χρή, μήποτε ἐπὶ τοὺς κρείττους ἐλαύνειν ὅπισθεν ἵπποις δύσβατον ποιούμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι σφαλῆναι.

Ἔτι δὲ βούλομαι ὑπομνήσαι καὶ τόδε φυλάττεσθαι. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἳ ὅταν μὲν ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τούτους, ὧν ἂν οἴωνται κρείττους εἶναι, παντάπασιν ἀσθενεῖ δυνάμει ἔρχονται, ὥστε πολλάκις ἔπαθον ἂ ὥοντο ποιήσιν· ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τούτους, ὧν ἂν σαφῶς ἐπίστωνται ἥττους ὄντες, πᾶσαν ὅσην ἂν ἔχωσι δύναμιν ἄγουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι χρῆναι τάναντία τούτων ποιεῖν· ὅταν μὲν κρατήσιν οἰόμενος ἄγῃ, μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅσην ἂν ἔχῃ. τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾶν οὐδενὶ πώποτε μετὰ μέλειαν παρέσχεν. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐπιχειρῇ καὶ προγιγνώσκῃ, ὅτι ποιήσαντα ὃ τι ἂν δύνῃται φευκτέον ἐστίν, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτά φημι πολὺ κρείττον εἶναι ὀλίγους ἢ πάντας προσάγειν, τοὺς μέντοι ἀπειλεγμένους καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς κρατίστους. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ποιῆσαι

¹ *Hellenica* vi. v. 51.

crown states with happiness as well. For my part, therefore, I know not why any art should be more assiduously cultivated than the arts of war. It should be noticed that a long apprenticeship to 8 toil enables sea-pirates to live at the expense of much stronger folk. On land, too, pillage, though not for those who reap what they have sown, is the natural resource of men who are deprived of food. For either men must work or they must eat the fruits of other men's labour: else it is a problem how to live and to obtain peace.

If you charge a superior force, you must remember 9 never to leave behind you ground difficult for horses. For a fall in retreat and a fall in pursuit are very different things.

I want to add a word of warning against another 10 error. Some men, when they suppose themselves to be stronger than the enemy whom they are going to attack, take an utterly inadequate force with them.¹ The consequence is that they are apt to incur the loss they expected to inflict. Or, when they know themselves to be weaker than the enemy, they use all their available strength in the attack. The right procedure, in my opinion, is just the 11 opposite: when the commander expects to win, he should not hesitate to use the whole of his strength: for an overwhelming victory never yet was followed by remorse. But when he tries conclusions 12 with a much stronger force, knowing beforehand that he is bound to retreat when he has done his best, I hold that it is far better in such a case to throw a small part of his strength into the attack than the whole of it; *only horses and men alike* should be his very best. For such a force will be

- ἂν τι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ἀσφαλέστερον ἂν δύναιντο.
 13 ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους πάντας προσαγαγὼν
 ἀποχωρεῖν βούληται, ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν
 βραδυτάτων ἵππων ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι'
 ἀφιππίαν¹ πίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ δυσχωρίας
 ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πολὺν τόπον χαλεπὸν
 14 εὐρεῖν οἶον ἂν τις εὕξαιτο. ὑπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ
 πληθους καὶ συμπίπτοιεν ἂν καὶ ἐμποδιζόντες
 πολλὰ ἂν ἀλλήλους κακουργοῖεν. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ
 ἵπποι καὶ ἵππεῖς δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν² διαφεύ-
 γειν, ἄλλως τε ἂν καὶ μηχανᾶται τις τοῖς
 διώκουσι φόβον ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν ἱππέων.
 15 σύμφορον δ' εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ψευδενέδραι· χρή-
 σιμον δὲ κἀκεῖνο, τὸ εὐρίσκειν πόθεν ἂν οἱ φίλοι
 ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπιφαινόμενοι βραδυτέρους τοὺς
 16 διώκοντας παρέχοιεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τότε δῆλον,
 ὥς πόνοις καὶ τάχει οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν πολὺ
 μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων περιγίγνουντ' ἂν.
 καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὥς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγοι εἶναι καὶ πονεῖν
 μᾶλλον δυνήσονται καὶ θάττους ἔσονται, ἀλλ'
 ὅτι ῥᾶον εὐρεῖν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς τοὺς καὶ
 τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμελησομένους ὥς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς
 φρονίμως μελετήσοντας τὴν ἱππικὴν.
 17 * Ἄν δέ ποτε συμβαίῃ ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς παρα-
 πλησίους ἱππέας, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐκ ἂν χεῖρον
 εἶναι, εἴ τις δύο τάξεις ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ποιήσῃ καὶ
 τῆς μὲν ὁ φύλαρχος ἡγοῖτο, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ὅστις
 18 ἄριστος δοκοῖε εἶναι, οὗτος δὲ τέως μὲν ἔποιτο
 κατ' οὐρὰν τῆς μετὰ τοῦ φυλάρχου τάξεως, ἐπεὶ
 δ' ἐγγὺς ἤδη εἶεν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, ἀπὸ παραγ-

¹ ἀφιππίαν is a correction in B: ἀφιππεῖαν S. with the MSS.

able to achieve something and to retreat with less risk. But when he has thrown the whole of his 13 strength into an attack on a stronger force, and wants to retire, the men on the slowest mounts are bound to be taken prisoners, others to be thrown through lack of horsemanship, and others to be cut off owing to inequalities in the ground, since it is hard to find a wide expanse of country entirely to your liking. Moreover, owing to their numbers they 14 will collide and hinder and hurt one another frequently. But good horses and men will contrive to escape, especially if you manage to scare the pursuers by using your reserves. Sham ambuscades, 15 too, are helpful for this purpose. It is also useful to discover on what quarter your friends may suddenly reveal themselves in a safe position and make the pursuit slower. Then again it is obvious that in 16 point of endurance and speed the advantage is much more likely to rest with a small than with a large force. I do not mean that mere paucity of numbers will increase the men's powers of endurance and add to their speed, but it is easier to find few men than many who will take proper care of their horses and will practise the art of horsemanship intelligently on their own account.

Should it happen at any time that the cavalry 17 forces engaged are about equal, I think it would be a good plan to split each regiment into two divisions, putting one under the command of the colonel, and the other under the best man available. The latter 18 would follow in the rear of the colonel's division for a time, but presently, when the adversary is near,

* ~~not in~~ Dindorf ~~not in~~ S with the MSS

- γέλσεως παρελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἐκπληκτικωτέρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἂν
 19 εἶναι καὶ δυσμαχωτέρους. εἰ δὲ πεζοὺς ἔχοιεν ἐκύτεροι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀποκεκρυμμένοι ὀπισθεν τῶν ἱππέων, ἑξαπίνης δὲ παραφαινόμενοι καὶ ὁμόσε ἰόντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι τὴν νίκην πολὺ μᾶλλον κατεργάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα ἣν μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἦν, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
 20 ἣν δὲ δεινὰ, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα. ταῦτα δὲ γνοίῃ ἂν τις μάλιστα ἐνθυμούμενος, ὥς οἳ τε ἐνέδραις ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ εἰς πολὺ πλείους ὦσι καὶ ὅταν πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικάθωνται, ὥς πολὺ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις φοβερώτατα ἔχουσιν.
- 21 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διατάξαι ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπὸν· τὸ δ' εὐρεῖν τοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως καὶ εὐψύχως παρελῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
 22 τοῦτο ἤδη ἀγαθοῦ ἱππάρχου. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι γινώσκονται ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τό τε πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἔπесθαι καὶ τὸ ὁμόσε ἐλαύνειν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι τοῦ καλὸν τι ἀκούειν καὶ δυνήσονται ἂν ἂν γινῶσιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν.
- 23 Ἐὰν δέ ποτε αὖ ἡ φαλάγγων ἀντιτεταγμένων ἡ χωρίων ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀναστροφαί τε καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεις γίνωνται, εἰώθασι μὲν ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὁρμῶν μὲν¹ βραδέως ἀμφότεροι,
 24 τὸ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν. ἣν δέ τις οὕτω προδείξας ἔπειτα² ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν ταχέως

¹ S. reads ὁρμῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν with the MSS. : ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν is rightly removed by Rühl.

he would wheel on receiving the order and charge. This plan, I think, would make the blow delivered by the regiment more stunning and more difficult to parry. Both divisions should have an infantry contingent, and if the infantry, hidden away behind the cavalry, came out suddenly and went for the enemy, I think they would prove an important factor in making the victory more decisive, for I have noticed that a surprise cheers men up if it is pleasant, but stuns them if it is alarming. Anyone will recognise the truth of this who reflects that, however great their advantage in numbers, men are dazed when they fall into an ambushade, and that two hostile armies confronting each other are scared out of their wits for the first few days.

There is no difficulty in adopting these tactics, but only a good cavalry commander can find men who will show intelligence, reliability and courage in wheeling to charge the enemy. For the commander must be capable both by his words and action of making the men under him realize that it is good to obey, to back up their leader, and to charge home, of firing them with a desire to win commendation, and of enabling them to carry out their intentions with persistence.

Suppose now that the cavalry are busy in the no man's land that separates two battle lines drawn up face to face or two strategic positions, wheeling, pursuing and retreating. After such manoeuvres both sides usually start off at a slow pace, but gallop at full speed in the unoccupied ground. But if a commander first feints in this manner, and then after

* See in Hartman's *Letters & S.* with the MSS.

τε διώκη καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῇ, βλάπτειν τ' ἂν
 μάλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους δύναίτο καὶ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς
 ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν διάγοι, ταχὺ μὲν διώκων ἐν ᾧ
 25 ἂν ἐγγὺς ἦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ταχὺ δὲ ἀπο-
 χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἰσχυρῶν. εἰ δὲ
 καὶ λαθεῖν δύναίτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐκάστης
 καταλιπὼν ἢ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων
 ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πολὺ ἂν προέχοιεν εἰς τὸ
 ἐπαναστρεφόμενοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπίπτειν.

IX. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν μὲν καὶ ὀλιγάκις
 ἄρκει, ἐννοεῖν¹ δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον αὐτῷ ἀεὶ²
 δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παριστάμενον σκοποῦντα τὸ
 συμφέρον ἐκπονεῖν. γράψαι δὲ πάντα, ὅποσα
 δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶόν τέ ἐστίν ἢ τὰ μέλ-
 2 λοντα πάντα εἰδέναι. πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνη-
 μάτων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι τὸ ὅσα ἂν
 γνῶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν πραχθῇ.
 ὀρθῶς δὲ γινγνωσκόμενα οὐ φέρει καρπὸν οὔτε ἐν
 γεωργίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ναυκληρίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἣν μή
 τις ἐπιμελῆται ὡς ἂν ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς³
 ἐκπεραίνηται.⁴

3 Φημὶ δ' ἐγὼ⁵ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἵππικὸν ὧδ' ἂν
 πολὺ θᾶττον ἐκπληρωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἵπ-
 πέας καὶ πολὺ ῥᾶον τοῖς πολίταις, εἰ διακοσίους
 ἵππεῖς ξένους καταστήσαιντο· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἂν

¹ ἐννοεῖν Madvig: ποιεῖν S with the MSS

² αὐτῷ ἀεὶ BM: ἀεὶ αὐτῷ S with other MSS

³ The MSS have no σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς here, but have ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς in the next sentence—see next note but one. S. follows the text of the MSS., the correction is by Madvig.

⁴ ἐκπεραίνηται B περαίνηται S with the other MSS.

⁵ ἐγὼ ταῦτα S with the MSS: ταῦτα was removed by Lenkiau.

wheeling, pursues and retreats at the gallop he will be able to inflict the greatest loss on the enemy, and will probably come through with the least harm, by pursuing at the gallop so long as he is near his own defence, and retreating at the gallop from the enemy's defences. If, moreover, he can secretly 25 leave behind him four or five of the best horses and men in each division, they will be at a great advantage in falling on the enemy as he is turning to renew the charge.

IX To read these suggestions a few times is enough, but it is always necessary for the commander to hit on the right thing at the right moment, to think of the present situation and to carry out what is expedient in view of it. To write out all that he ought to do is no more possible than to know everything that is going to happen. The 2 most important of all my hints, I think, is this. Whatever you decide to be best, see that it gets done. Whether you are a farmer,¹ a skipper or a commander, sound decisions bear no fruit unless you see to it that, with heaven's help,² they are duly carried out.

Further, I am of opinion that the full complement 3 of a thousand cavalry would be raised much more quickly and in a manner much less burdensome to the citizens if they established a force of two hundred foreign cavalry.³ For I believe that the

¹ *Oeconomicus* xi 8

² This expression undoubtedly comes here, compare especially the maxim "Act with god" (§ 8) and the end of the *Ways and Means*

³ The 200 mercenaries would be included in the total of 1000

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΙΠΠΙΚΗΣ

Ι. Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ συμβῆναι ἡμῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἱππεύειν οἴομεθα ἔμπειροι ἱππικῆς γεγενῆσθαι, βουλόμεθα καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν φίλων δηλῶσαι, ἢ ἂν νομίζομεν αὐτοὺς ὀρθότατα ἵπποις προσφέρεσθαι· συνέγραψε μὲν οὖν καὶ Σίμων περὶ ἱππικῆς, ὃς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐλευσίνιον ἵππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐν τῷ βύθρῳ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐξετύπωσεν· ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι ὅσοις σνιετύχομεν ταῦτά γιόντες ἐκείνῳ, οὐκ ἐξαλείφομεν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἡδίων παραδῶσομεν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις, νομίζοντες ἀξιοπιστότεροι εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἔγνω ἱππικὸς ὢν· καὶ ὅσα δὴ παρέλιπε, ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα δηλῶσαι.

Πρῶτον δὲ γράψομεν, ὥς ἂν τις ἥκιστα ἐξαπατῶτο ἐν ἵππωνείᾳ.

Τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν ἔτι ἀδαμύστου πώλου δῆλον ὅτι τὸ σῶμα δεῖ δοκιμᾶζειν· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐ τάνυ σαφῇ τεκμήρια παρέχεται ὁ μηπω ἀναβαινόμενος.

2 Τοῦ γε μὴν σώματος τρώτῳ φάμεν χρῆναι τοὺς πόδας σκοτεῖν· ὥστερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐδὲν

¹ A considerable fragment of this work survives in a MS in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The most recent editions are those of Oler and Rühl. The "cavalry commander"

ON THE ART OF HORSEMANSHIP

I INASMUCH as we have had a long experience of cavalry, and consequently claim familiarity with the art of horsemanship, we wish to explain to our younger friends what we believe to be the correct method of dealing with horses. True there is already a treatise on horsemanship by Simon,¹ who also dedicated the bronze horse in the Eleusinium at Athens and recorded his own feats in relief on the pedestal. Nevertheless, we shall not erase from our work the conclusions that happen to coincide with his but shall offer them to our friends with far greater pleasure, in the belief that they are more worthy of acceptance because so expert a horseman held the same opinions as we ourselves; moreover, we shall try to explain all the points that he has omitted.

First we will give directions how best to avoid being cheated in buying a horse.

For judging an unbroken colt, the only criterion, obviously, is the body, for no clear signs of temper are to be detected in an animal that has not yet had a man on his back.

In examining his body, we say you must first look ² at his feet. For, just as a house is bound to be worth-

named Simon referred to in Aristophanes *Knights* 212, is just a member of the chorus, but the name probably recalls the author.

ὄφελος ἂν εἴη, εἰ τὰ ἄνω πάνυ καλὰ ἔχοι μὴ ὑποκειμένων οἴων δεῖ θεμελίων, οὕτω καὶ ἵππου πολεμιστηρίου οὐδὲν ἂν ὄφελος εἴη, οὐδ' εἰ τὰλλα πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχοι, κακόπους δ' εἴη· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆσθαι.

3 Πόδας δ' ἂν τις δοκιμάζοι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὄνυχας σκοπῶν· οἱ γὰρ παχεῖς πολὺ τῶν λεπτῶν διαφέρουσιν εἰς εὐποδίαν· ἔπειτα οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ λανθάνειν, πότερον αἱ ὅπλαί εἰσιν ὑψηλαὶ ἢ ταπειναὶ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν ἢ χαμηλαί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ δαπέδου ἔχουσι τὴν χελιδόνα καλουμένην, αἱ δὲ ταπειναὶ ὁμοίως βαίνουνσι τῷ τε ἰσχυροτάτῳ καὶ τῷ μαλακωτάτῳ τοῦ ποδός, ὥσπερ οἱ βλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δέ φησι Σίμων δῆλους εἶναι τοὺς εὐποδας, καλῶς λέγων· ὥσπερ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ πρὸς τῷ δαπέδῳ ἢ κοίλῃ ὀπλῇ.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠρξάμεθα ἐντεῦθεν, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα.

Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω μὲν τῶν ὀπλῶν κατωτέρω δὲ τῶν κυνηπόδων ὅστ' αὖ μήτε ἄγαν ὀρθὰ εἶναι ὥσπερ αἰγός· ἀντιτυπώτερα γὰρ ὄντα κόπτει τε τὸν ἀναβάτην καὶ παραπίμπραται μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα σκέλη· οὐδὲ μὴν ἄγαν ταπεινὰ τὰ ὅστ' αὖ δεῖ εἶναι· ψιλοῖντο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐλκοῖντο οἱ κυνήποδες εἴτ' ἐν βώλοις εἴτ' ἐν λίθοις ἐλαύνοιτο ὁ ἵππος.

5 Τῶν γε μὴν κνημῶν τὰ ὅστ' αὖ παχέα χρὴ εἶναι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ στήριγγες τοῦ ὠματος· οὐ

less if the foundations are unsound, however well the upper parts may look, so a war horse will be quite useless, even though all his other points are good, if he has bad feet, for in that case he will be unable to use any of his good points

When testing the feet first look to the hoofs For 3 it makes a great difference in the quality of the feet if they are thick rather than thin Next you must not fail to notice whether the hoofs are high both in front and behind, or low For high hoofs have the frog, as it is called, well off the ground, but flat hoofs tread with the strongest and weakest part of the foot simultaneously, like a bow legged man Moreover, Simon says that the ring, too, is a clear test of good feet and he is right, for a hollow hoof rings like a cymbal in striking the ground ¹

Having begun here, we will proceed upwards by 4 successive steps to the rest of the body

The bones (of the pastern) above the hoofs and below the fetlocks should not be too upright, like a goat's such legs give too hard a tread, jar the rider, and are more liable to inflammation Nor yet should the bones be too low,² else the fetlocks are likely to become bare and sore when the horse is ridden over clods or stones

The bones of the shanks should be thick,³ since 5 these are the pillars of the body, but not thick with

criticism is certainly just"—Berenger i, 221 Yet it is unlikely that Simon and X were both mistaken

¹ "The pasterns (of the hackney) should neither be too oblique, which bespeaks weakness nor too straight which wears the horse out and is unpleasant to the rider —Blair in Loudon's *Agriculture*

² "Wide" would be a more suitable word.

μέντοι φλεψί γε οὐδὲ σαρξὶ παχέα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅταν ἐν σκληροῖς ἐλαύνηται, ἀνάγκη αἵματος ταῦτα πληροῦσθαι καὶ κρισσοὺς γίνεσθαι καὶ παχύνεσθαι μὲν τὰ σκέλη, ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τὸ δέρμα. χαλῶντος δὲ τούτου πολλάκις καὶ ἡ περόνη ἀποσταῖσα χωλὸν ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἵππον.

6 Τά γε μὴν γόνατα ἢ βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ὑγρῶς κάμπτη, εἰκάζοις ἂν καὶ ἱππεύοντα ὑγρὰ ἔξειν τὰ σκέλη· πάντες γὰρ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑγροτέρως κάμπτουσιν ἐν τοῖς γόνασι. τὰ δὲ ὑγρὰ δικαίως εὐδοκιμεῖ· ἀπταιστότερον γὰρ καὶ ἀκοπώτερον τὸν ἵππον τῶν σκληρῶν σκελῶν παρέχει.

7 Μηροί γε μέντοι οἱ ὑπὸ ταῖς ὠμοπλάταις ἦν παχεῖς ὥσιν, ἰσχυρότεροί τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστεροι ὥσπερ ἀνδρὸς φαίνονται.

Καὶ μὴν στέρνα πλατύτερα ὄντα καὶ πρὸς κάλλος καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπαλλάξ ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τὰ σκέλη φέρειν εὐφυνέστερα.

8 Ἀπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ στέρνου ὁ μὲν αὐχὴν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὥσπερ κάπρου προπετῆς πεφύκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀλεκτρυνόνος ὀρθὸς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἦκοι, λαγαρὸς δὲ εἴη τὰ κατὰ τὴν συγκαμπήν, ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ ὀστώδης οὔσα μικρὰν σιαγόνα ἔχοι. οὕτως ὁ μὲν τράχηλος πρὸ τοῦ ἀναβάτου ἂν εἴη, τὸ δὲ ὄμμα τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀρῶη. καὶ βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἡκιστ' ἂν δύναιτο ὁ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα ἔχων καὶ εἰ πάνυ θυμοειδὴς εἴη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγκάμπτοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνοντες τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν βιάζεσθαι οἱ ἵπποι ἐπιχειροῦσι.

¹ The Greek word means the fibula in man, but the fibula, of course, is no part of the shank in the horse. Morgan

veins nor with flesh, else when the horse is ridden over hard ground, these parts are bound to become charged with blood and varicose, the legs will swell, and the skin will fall away, and when this gets loose the pin,¹ too, is apt to give way and lame the horse

If the colt's knees are supple when bending as he walks, you may guess that his legs will be supple when he is ridden too, for all horses acquire greater suppleness at the knee as time goes on. Supple knees are rightly approved, since they render the horse less likely to stumble and tire than stiff legs

The arms below the shoulders,² as in man, are stronger and better looking if they are thick

A chest of some width is better formed both for appearance and for strength, and for carrying the legs well apart without crossing

His neck should not hang downwards from the chest like a boar's, but stand straight up to the crest, like a cock's,³ but it should be flexible at the bend, and the head should be bony, with a small cheek. Thus the neck will protect the rider, and the eye see what lies before the feet⁴. Besides, a horse of such a mould will have least power of running away, be he never so high spirited, for horses do not arch the neck and head, but stretch them out when they try to run away

rightly says that X. writes throughout of the horse as he appears outwardly, and not of the skeleton (with which he was unacquainted), and that the allusion is to the back sinew of the shin

¹ The forearm, not the true arm, which X. includes in the chest

² The horse should not be "cock throttled"

³ He will not be a "star gazer"

9 Σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ εἰ ἀμφοτέραι μαλακαὶ αἱ
 γυῖαι ἢ σκληραὶ ἢ ἢ ἰτέα. ἴτε ὄρναι γὰρ
 ὥς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ μὴ ὁμοίας τὰς γυῖας ἔχοντες
 γίγνεται.

Καὶ μὴ τὸ ἐξούθραλμον εἶναι ἐγγεγραμμὸς μᾶλλον
 φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοθράλμου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ δ' αὖ
 10 ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁρῶν. καὶ μικτῆρας γε οἱ αἰαεταί·
 μίσοι τῶν συμπετωκῶτων εἰσιώτεροί τε ἅμα
 εἰσὶ καὶ γοργότερον τὸν ἵππον ἀποσκιεύουσι.
 καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὀργίζεται ἵππος ἵπῳ ἢ ἐν ἵπτασίῳ
 θυμῶται, εἰρίει μᾶλλον τοὺς μικτῆρας.

11 Καὶ μὴν κορυφὴ μὲν μείζων, ὧτα δὲ μικρότερα
 ἵπποδεστέρα· τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνει.

Ἢ δ' αὖ ὑψηλὴ ἀκρωμία τῇ τε αἰαβάτῃ ἀσφα-
 λεστέραν τὴν ἰδραν καὶ τοῖς ὤμοις¹ ἰσχυροτέρα
 τὴν πρύσφυσιν παρέχεται.

Ῥάχιν γε μὴν ἢ διτλῇ τῆς ἀτλῆς καὶ ἐγκα-
 θῆσθαι μαλακωτέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡδίων.

12 Καὶ πλευρὰ δὲ ἢ βαθυτέρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα
 ὀγκωδεστέρα ἅμα εὐεδρότερον τε καὶ ἰσχυρότεροι
 καὶ εὐχιλύτερον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἵππον
 παρέχεται.

Ὅσφύς γε μὴν ὅσω ἂν πλατυτέρα καὶ βραχυτέρα
 ᾖ, τοσούτω ῥᾶον μὲν ὁ ἵππος τὰ πρόσθεν αἶρεται,
 ῥᾶον δὲ τὰ ὀπίσθεν προσάγεται· καὶ ὁ κενεὸν δὲ
 οὕτω μικρότατος φαίνεται, ὅσπερ μέγας ὢν μέρος
 μὲν τι καὶ αἰσχύει, μέρος δὲ τι καὶ ἀσθενέστερον
 καὶ δυσφορώτερον αὐτὸν τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

13 Τὰ γε μὴν ἰσχία πλατέα μὲν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ
 εὐσάρκα, ἵνα ἀκόλουθα ᾖ ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ τοῖς
 στέρνοις· ἣν δὲ πάντα στερεὰ ᾖ, κουφότερα ἂν τὰ

¹ ὤμοις Schneider: ὤμοις καὶ τῷ σώματι S with the MSS.

You should notice, too, whether both jaws are soft 9 or hard, or only one, for horses with unequal jaws are generally unequally sensitive in the mouth

A prominent eye looks more alert than one that is hollow, and, apart from that, it gives the horse a greater range of vision And wide open nostrils 10 afford room for freer breathing than close ones, and at the same time make the horse look fiercer, for whenever a horse is angry with another or gets excited under his rider, he dilates his nostrils

A fairly large crest and fairly small ears give the 11 more characteristic shape to a horse's head

High withers offer the rider a safer seat and a stronger grip on the shoulders

The double back¹ is both softer to sit on than the single and more pleasing to the eye

The deeper the flanks and the more swelling 12 toward the belly, the firmer is the seat and the stronger, and as a rule, the better feeder is the horse

The broader and shorter the loins, the more easily the horse lifts his fore quarters and the more easily he brings up his hind quarters And, apart from that, the belly looks smallest so, and if it is big it disfigures the horse to some extent, and also makes him to some extent both weaker and clumsier

The haunches must be broad and fleshy, that 13 they may be in right proportion to the flanks and chest, and if they are firm all over, they will

¹ "That was before the days of saddles and horsemen had a tender interest in the double back—the characteristic back of dappled horses —Loeck *Horses* p. 114 "D p ex ag tur per lumbos ep na," says Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 87)

9 Σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ εἰ ἀμφοτέραι μαλακαὶ αἱ γνάθοι ἢ σκληραὶ ἢ ἡ ἑτέρα. ἑτερόγναθοι γὰρ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ μὴ ὁμοίας τὰς γνάθους ἔχοντες γίγνονται.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι ἐγρηγορὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοφθάλμου, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' ἂν
10 ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁρώῃ. καὶ μυκτῆρές γε οἱ ἀναπεπτα-
μένοι τῶν συμπεπτωκότων εὐπνώτεροί τε ἅμα
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¹ "That was before the days of saddles, and horsemen had a tender interest in the double back—the characteristic back of dappled horses"—Pocock, *Horses*, p. 118. "Duplex agitur per lumbos spina," says Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 87)

θαρροῦντες δοκιμίζοιμεν ἄν¹ πολλῶν γὰρ πλείονες εὐχρηστοί² ἐξ αἰσchrῶν ἢ ἐκ τοιούτων αἰσchrοὶ γίγνονται.

Π. "Ὅπως γε μὴν δεῖ πωλεῦειν, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν μὴ γραττέον εἶναι. τάττονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἱππεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασί τε ἱκανώτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες· πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον τοῦ πωλοδάμνην εἶναι τῷ μὲν νέῳ εὐεξίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἱππικῆν³ ἐπισταμένῳ ἤδη ἱπτάζεσθαι μελετᾶν· τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ τε οἴκου καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμφὶ
2 πώλευσιν διατρίβειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ γινώσκων περὶ πωλείας δῆλον ὅτι ἐκδώσει τὸν πῶλον χρὴ μέντοι ὥσπερ τὸν παῖδα ὅταν ἐπὶ τέχνην ἐκδῶ, συγγραψάμενον ἃ δεήσει ἐπιστάμενον ἀποδοῦναι οὕτως ἐκδιδόναι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπομνήματα⁴ ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμνῃ ὧν δεῖ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι.
3 "Ὅπως μέντοι πρᾶός τε καὶ χειροῆθης καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὁ πῶλος ἐκδιδῶται τῷ πωλοδάμνῃ, ἐπιμελητέον. τὸ γὰρ τοιούτον οἶκοι τε τὰ πλείστα καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἀποτελεῖται, ἣν ἐπίσθηται τὸ μὲν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ μυωπίζεσθαι παρασκευάζειν μετ' ἐρημίας γίγνεσθαι τῷ πῶλῳ, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ τῶν λυπούντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δι' ἀνθρώπων τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι
4 ὑπὸ πῶλων ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δὲ χρὴ

¹ ἄν, added by Dindorf, is wanting in S

² εὐχρηστοί Schneider εὐχρᾶστοι S with the MSS

³ ἱππικῆν ἐν (sic) A· ἱππικῆς ἢ S with the other MSS

confidently rely on these tests, for it is far commoner for an ugly colt to make a useful horse than for a colt like this to turn out ugly

II We do not think it necessary to give directions¹ for breaking a colt. For in our states the cavalry are recruited from those who have ample means and take a considerable part in the government. And it is far better for a young man to get himself into condition and when he understands the art of horsemanship to practise riding than to be a horse-breaker, and an older man had far better devote himself to his estate and his friends and affairs of state and of war than spend his time in horse-breaking. So he who shares my opinion 2 about horse-breaking will, of course, send his colt out. Still he should put in writing what the horse is to know when he is returned, just as when he apprentices his son to a profession. For these articles will serve as notes to remind the horse-breaker of what he must attend to if he is to get his money

Still, care must be taken that the colt is gentle, 3 tractable, and fond of man when he is sent to the horse-breaker. That sort of business is generally done at home through the groom, if he knows how to contrive that hunger and thirst and horseflies are associated by the colt with solitude, while eating and drinking and delivery from irritation come through man's agency. For in these circumstances a foal is bound not only to like men, but to hanker 4 after them. One should also handle those parts in

¹ Or, perhaps, "to give many directions." Something is lost in the MSS, in which the $\mu\eta$ (added by Courier) does not appear

⁴ $\iota\psi\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ AB. $\iota\psi\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ S with M

ὧν ψηλαφωμένων ὁ ἵππος μάλιστα ἤδεται
ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τε λασσιώτατα καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς
ἤκιστα δύναται ὁ ἵππος, ἣν τι λυπῇ αὐτόν,
5 ἐπικουρεῖν. προστετάχθω δὲ τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καὶ
τὸ δι' ὄχλου διάγειν καὶ παντοδαπαῖς μὲν ὄψεσι
παντοδαποῖς δὲ ψόφοις πλησιάζειν. τούτων δὲ
ὅποσα ἂν ὁ πῶλος φοβῇται, οὐ χαλεπαίνοντα δεῖ,
ἀλλὰ πραΰνοντα διδάσκειν, ὅτι οὐ δεινὰ ἐστί.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν πωλείας ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τῷ
ιδιώτῃ εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα πράττειν.

III. "Όταν γε μὴν ἵππαζόμενον ὠνῇται τις,
ὑπομνήματα γράψομεν, ἃ δεῖ καταμανθάνειν τὸν
μέλλοντα μὴ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ἐν ἵππωνείᾳ.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν μὴ λαθέτω αὐτόν, τίς ἡ
ἡλικία· ὁ γὰρ μηκέτι ἔχων γνώμονας οὔτ'
ἐλπίσιν εὐφραίνει οὔτε ὁμοίως εὐαπάλλακτος
γίγνεται.

2 "Όποτε δὲ ἡ νεότης σαφής, δεῖ αὐτὸν μὴ λαθεῖν, πῶς
μὲν εἰς τὸ στόμα δέχεται τὸν χαλινόν, πῶς δὲ
περὶ τὰ ὦτα τὴν κορυφαίαν. ταῦτα δ' ἤκιστ' ἂν
λανθάνοι, εἰ ὀρώντος μὲν τοῦ ὠνούμενου ἐμβάλ-
λοιοτο ὁ χαλινός, ὀρώντος δ' ἐξαιροῖτο.

3 Ἐπειτα δὲ προσέχειν δεῖ τὸν νοῦν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν
νῶτον δέχεται τὸν ἀναβάτην. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἵπποι
χαλεπῶς προσίενται ἃ πρόδηλα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὅτι
προσέμενοι πονεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται.

4 Σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τόδε, εἰ ἀναβαθεὶς ἐθέλει ἀφ'
ἵππων ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ εἰ παρ' ἐστηκότας ἵππεύων
μὴ ἐκφέρει πρὸς τούτους. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ διὰ

¹ The knowledge of the teeth as a criterion of age is rudimentary.

which the horse likes most to be cherished, that is to say the hairiest parts and those where the horse has least power of helping himself, if anything worries him. Let the groom be under orders also to lead 3 him through crowds, and accustom him to all sorts of sights and all sorts of noises. If the colt shies at any of them, he must teach him, by quieting him and without impatience, that there is nothing to be afraid of.

I think that the directions I have given on the subject of horse breaking are sufficient for the private person.

III In case the intention is to buy a horse already ridden, we will write out some notes that the buyer must thoroughly master if he is not to be cheated over his purchase.

First, then, he must not fail to ascertain the age. A horse that has shed all his milk teeth does not afford much ground for pleasing expectations, and is not so easily got rid of.¹

If he is clearly a youngster, one must notice 2 further how he receives the bit in his mouth and the headstall about his ears. This may best be noticed if the buyer sees the bridle put on and taken off again.

Next, attention must be paid to his behaviour 3 when he receives the rider on his back. For many horses will not readily accept a thing if they know beforehand that, if they accept it, they will be forced to work.

Another thing to be observed is whether when 4 mounted he is willing to leave his companions, or whether in passing standing horses he does not bolt towards them. Some too, in consequence of bad

κακὴν ἀγωγὴν πρὸς τὰς οἴκαδε ἀφόδους φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἵππασιῶν.

- 6 Τούς γε μὴν ἑτερογενάθους μηνύει μὲν καὶ ἡ πέδη καλουμένη ἵππασία, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἵππασίαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγχειροῦσιν ἐκφέρειν, ἣν μὴ ἅμα συμβῇ ἢ τε ἄδικος γνάθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς οἶκον ἐκφορά. δεῖ γέ μὴν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰ ἀφεθεὶς εἰς τάχος ἀναλαμβάνεται ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ εἰ ἀποστρέφεσθαι ἐθέλει.
- 6 ἀγαθὸν δὲ μὴ ἄπειρον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πληγῇ ἐγερθεὶς ἐθέλει ὁμοίως πείθεσθαι. ἄχρηστον μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ οἰκέτης καὶ στρατεύμα ἀπειθές· ἵππος δὲ ἀπειθὴς οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ ὅσαπερ προδότης διαπράττεται.

- 7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμιστήριον ἵππον ὑπεθέμεθα ὠνεῖσθαι, ληπτέον πείραν ἀπάντων, ὅσωνπερ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πείραν λαμβάνει. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, τάφρους διαπηδᾶν, τειχία ὑπερβαίνειν, ἐπ' ὄχθους ἀνορούειν, ἀπ' ὄχθων καθάλλεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρηνοὺς καὶ πλάγια ἐλαύνοντα πείραν λαμβάνειν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰ ὑγιὲς βασανίζει.

- 8 Οὐ μέντοι τὸν μὴ καλῶς πάννυ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀποδοκιμαστέον. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἄπειροι εἶναι τούτων ἐλλείπονται. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐθισθέντες καὶ μελετήσαντες καλῶς ἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῖεν, εἰ

training run away from the riding ground to the paths that lead home

A horse with jaws unequally sensitive is detected by the exercise called the "ring,"¹ but much more by changing the exercise.² For many do not attempt to bolt unless they have a bad mouth, and the road along which they can bolt home gives them their chance.³ It is likewise necessary to know whether, when going at full speed he can be pulled up sharp, and whether he turns readily. And it is well to make sure whether he is equally willing to obey when roused by a blow. For a disobedient servant and a disobedient army are of course useless, and a disobedient horse is not only useless, but often behaves just like a traitor.

As we have assumed that the horse to be bought is designed for war, he must be tested in all the particulars in which he is tested by war. These include springing across ditches, leaping over walls, rushing up banks, jumping down from banks. One must also try him by riding up and down hill and on a slope. All these experiments prove whether his spirit is strong and his body sound.

Nevertheless, it is not necessary to reject a horse that is not perfect in these trials. For many break down in these not from want of ability, but from lack of experience. With teaching, use and discipline they will perform all these exercises well,

¹ i.e. the "volts", see note at c. 911, § 13

by riding on the other hand. The allusion, as

1 volte

any e the road on the
a more sensitive right jaw

9 γ' ἄλλως ὑγιεῖς καὶ μὴ κακοὶ εἶεν. τοὺς γε μέντοι
 ὑπόπτας φύσει φυλακτέον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπέρφοβοι
 βλάπτειν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ
 ἐῷσι, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔσφηλάν τε πολλάκις καὶ
 εἰς τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐνέβαλον.

10 Δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα χαλεπότητα ἔχοι ὁ ἵππος,
 καταμανθάνειν, εἴτε πρὸς ἵππους εἴτε πρὸς
 ἀνθρώπους, καὶ εἰ δυσγάργαλός γε εἴη· πάντα γὰρ
 ταῦτα χαλεπὰ τοῖς κεκτημένοις γίγνεται.

11 Τὰς δέ γε τῶν χαλινώσεων καὶ ἀναβάσεων
 ἀποκωλύσεις καὶ τᾶλλα δὴ¹ νεύματα πολὺ ἂν ἔτι
 μᾶλλον καταμάθοι τις, εἰ πεπονηκότος ἤδη τοῦ
 ἵππου πάλιν πειρῶτο ποιεῖν ταῦτ' ὅσα περ πρὶν
 ἄρξασθαι ἱππεύειν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν πεπονηκότες
 ἐθέλωσι πάλιν πόνους ὑποδύεσθαι, ἱκανὰ τεκ-
 μήρια παρέχονται ταῦτα ψυχῆς καρτερᾶς.

12 Ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εὖπους μὲν εἴη,
 πρᾶος δέ, ἀρκούντως δὲ ποδώκης, ἐθέλοι δὲ καὶ
 δύναιτο πόνους ὑποφέρειν, πείθοιτο δὲ μάλιστα,
 οὗτος ἂν εἰκότως ἀλυπότατός τ' εἴη καὶ σωτη-
 ριώτατος τῷ ἀμβάτῃ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἢ
 διὰ βλακείαν ἐλάσεως πολλῆς δεόμενοι ἢ διὰ
 τὸ ὑπέρθυμοι εἶναι πολλῆς θωπείας τε καὶ
 πραγματείας ἀσχολίαν μὲν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ
 ἀναβάτου παρέχουσιν, ἀθυμίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύ-
 νοις.

IV. Ὅταν γε μὴν ἀγασθεὶς ἵππον πρίηταί τις
 καὶ οἴκαδε ἀγάγηται, καλὸν μὲν ἐν τοιούτῳ τῆς
 οἰκίας τὸν σταθμὸν εἶναι, ὅπου πλειστάκις ὁ
 δεσπότης ὄψεται τὸν ἵππον· ἀγαθὸν δ' οὕτω
 κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἱππῶνα, ὥστε μηδὲν μᾶλλον
 οἶόν τ' εἶναι τὸν τοῦ ἵππου σῖτον κλαπῆναι ἐκ

provided they are otherwise sound and not faulty. But one should beware of horses that are naturally shy. For timid horses give one no chance of using them to harm the enemy, and often throw their rider and put him in a very awkward situation. 9

It is necessary also to find out whether the horse has any vice towards horses or towards men, and whether he will not stand tickling. for all these things prove troublesome to the owner 10

As regards objection to being bridled or mounted, and the other reactions, there is a much better way still of detecting these, namely, by trying to do over again, after the horse has finished his work, just what one did before starting on the ride. All horses that are willing after their work to do another spell thereby give sufficient proofs of a patient temper. 11

To sum up. the horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that want a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger. 12

IV When a man has found a horse to his mind, bought him and taken him home, it is well to have the stable so situated with respect to the house that his master can see him very often, and it is a good plan to have the stall so contrived that it will be as difficult to steal the horse's fodder out of the manger

¹ For *δὴ νεύματα* S reads *δινεύματα*, a conjecture of Stephanus (*δινεύματα* some inferior MSS.)

- τῆς φάτνης ἢ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου
ὁ δὲ τούτου ἀμελῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐαυτοῦ δοκεῖ ἀμε-
λεῖν δῆλοι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κιδίίοις τὸ αὐτοῖ
σῶμα τῷ ἵππῳ ὁ δεσπότης παρακατατίθεται.
- 2 ἔστι δὲ οὐ μοῖον τοῦ μὴ κλέπτεσθαι εἰκα τὸν
σίτον ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἐχυρὸς ἵππων, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὅταν
τῇ ἐκκομίζῃ τὸν σίτον ὁ ἵππος, φαιερὸν γίγνεται
τούτου δ' ἂν τις αἰσθόμενος γιγιώσκοι, ὅτι ἢ
τὸ σῶμα ὑτεραιμοῦν δεῖται θεραπείας ἢ κόπου
ἐνόητος δεῖται ἀια-αύσεως ἢ κριθίας ἢ ἄλλη
τις ἀρρωστία ὑποδύεται ἔστι δ' ὥστερ ἀνθρώπῳ
οὕτω καὶ ἵππῳ ἀρχόμενα πάντα εὐιατότερα ἢ ἐ-
δὰν ἐνσκιρρωθῇ τε καὶ ἐξαμαρτηθῇ τὰ ἰοσήματα.
- 3 Ὡς περ δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ σίτου τε καὶ γυμνασίων
ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἰσχύῃ, οὕτω καὶ
τοὺς πόδας ἀσκητέον. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑγρά τε καὶ
λεῖα τῶν σταθμῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ταῖς εὐφύεσιν
ὀπλαῖς. δεῖ δέ, ὡς μὲν μὴ ἢ ὑγρά, εἶναι ἀπόρ-
ρυτα, ὡς δὲ μὴ λεῖα, λίθους ἔχοντα κατορω-
γμένους προσαλλήλους παραπλησίους ὀπλαῖς τὸ
μέγεθος. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σταθμὰ καὶ ἐφεστη-
κότων ἅμα στερεοῖ τοὺς πόδας.
- 4 Ἐπειτά γε μὴν τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ ἐξακτέον μὲν
τὸν ἵππον ὅπου ψήξει, μεταδετέον δὲ μετὰ τὸ
ἄριστον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης, ἵν' ἡδίων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον
ἦ ὥδε δ' ἂν αὐτὸ ἔξω σταθμὸς βέλτιστος εἴη
καὶ τοὺς πόδας κρατύνει, εἰ λίθων στρογγύλων
ἀμφιδόχμων ὅσον μνααίων ἀμάξας τέτταρας καὶ

as the master's victuals from the larder. He who neglects this seems to me to neglect himself, for it is plain that in danger the master entrusts his life to his horse. But a well secured stall is not only good for preventing theft of the fodder but also because one can see when the horse spills his food. And on noticing this one may be sure that either his body is overfull of blood and needs treatment or that the horse is over worked and wants rest, or that colic or some other ailment is coming on. It is the same with horses as with men: all distempers in the early stage are more easily cured than when they have become chronic and have been wrongly treated. 2

Just as the food and exercise of the horse must be attended to in order that he may keep sound, so his feet must be cared for. Now damp and slippery floors ruin even well formed hoofs. In order that they may not be damp,¹ the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof. Such floors, indeed, have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horses standing on them. 3

To take the next point: the groom must lead out the horse to clean him, and must loose him from the stall after the morning feed, that he may return to his evening feed with more appetite. Now the stable-yard will be of the best form and will strengthen the feet if he throws down and spreads over it four or five loads of round stones, the size of a fist, about a pound 4

¹ The text of this sentence is conjectural, and it is thought that some words are lost before *τὰ γὰρ* and after *συσφύει* in the next.

πέντε χύδην καταβάλλοι, περιχειλώσας σιδήρῳ, ὥς ἂν μὴ σκεδαννύωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτων ἑστηκὼς ὥσπερ ἐν ὁδῷ λιθώδει αἰεὶ ἂν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας πορεύοιτο. ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ψηχόμενον καὶ μυωπιζόμενον χρήσθαι ταῖς ὀπλαῖς καθάπερ ὅταν βαδίζῃ. καὶ τὰς χελιδόνας δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οἱ οὕτω κεχυμένοι λίθοι στερεοῦσιν.

Ὡς δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὅπως καρτεραὶ ἔσονται, οὕτως καὶ περὶ τῶν στομάτων ὅπως μαλακὰ ἔσται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἀνθρώπου τε σάρκα καὶ ἵππου στόμα ἀπαλύνει.

V. Ἴππικου δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἵπποκόμον πεπαιδεῦσθαι ἃ δεῖ περὶ τὸν ἵππον πράττειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιφατνιδίας φορβειᾶς ἐπίστασθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ μήποτε τὸ ἄμμα ποιεῖσθαι ἔνθαπερ ἡ κορυφαία περιτίθεται. πολλάκις γὰρ κνῶν ὁ ἵππος ἐπὶ τῇ φάτνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰ μὴ ἀσινῆς ἡ φορβειὰ περὶ τὰ ὦτα ἔσται, πολλάκις ἂν ἔλκη ποιοίῃ. ἐλκουμένων γε μὴν τούτων ἀνάγκη τὸν ἵππον καὶ περὶ τὸ χαλινοῦσθαι καὶ περὶ τὸ ψήχεσθαι δυσκολώτερον εἶναι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τετάχθαι τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κόπρον καὶ τὰ ὑποστρώματα τοῦ ἵππου ἐκφέρειν εἰς ἓν χωρίον. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν αὐτὸς τ' ἂν ῥᾶστα ἀπαλλάττοι καὶ ἄμα τὸν ἵππον ὠφελοίῃ. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὸν κημὸν περιτιθέναι τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ ψῆξιν καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ καλίστραν ἐξάγῃ. καὶ αἰεὶ δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἀχαλίνωτον ἄγῃ κημοῦν δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κημὸς ἀναπνεῖν μὲν οὐ κωλύει, δάκνει δὲ οὐκ ἔα· καὶ τὸ ἐπι-

in weight, and surrounds them with a border of iron so that they may not be scattered. Standing on these will have the same effect as if the horse walked on a stone road for some time every day. When he is being rubbed down and teased with 5 flies he is bound to use his hoofs in the same way as when he walks. The frogs also are hardened by stones scattered in this way.

The same care must be taken to make his mouth tender as to harden his hoofs. This is done by the same methods as are employed to soften human flesh.

V. It is a mark of a good horseman, in our opinion, to see that his groom, like himself, is instructed in the way in which he should treat the horse.

First then the man ought to know that he should never make the knot in the halter at the point where the headstall is put on. For if the halter is not easy about the ears, the horse will often rub his head against the manger and may often get sores in consequence. Now if there are sore places thereabouts the horse is bound to be restive both when he is bridled and when he is rubbed down. It is well also 2 for the groom to have orders to remove the dung and litter daily to one and the same place. For by doing this he will get rid of it most easily and at the same time relieve the horse. The groom must also know 3 about putting the muzzle on the horse when he takes him out to be groomed or to the rolling place. In fact he must always put the muzzle on when he leads him anywhere without a bridle.¹ For the muzzle prevents him from biting without hampering his breathing; and moreover, when it is put on, it

¹ The muzzle appears on several Greek vases. The Greek horse was given to biting.

βουλεύειν δὲ περικείμενος μᾶλλον ἐξαιρεῖ τῶν ἵππων.

4 Καὶ μὴν δεσμεύειν τὸν ἵππον ἄνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς δεῖ. πάντα γὰρ ὁπόσα ἂν δύσκολ' ἢ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ ἵππος ἐκνεύειν πέφυκεν ἄνω. ἐκνεύων γὰρ μὴν οὕτω δεδεμένος χαλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ διασπᾶ τὰ δεσμά.

5 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ψήχη, ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς χαίτης· μὴ γὰρ καθαρῶν τῶν ἄνω ὄντων μάταιον τὰ κάτω καθαίρειν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς καθάρσεως ὀργάνοις ἀνιστάντα δεῖ τὴν τρίχα σοβεῖν τὴν κόνιν κατὰ¹ φύσιν τῆς τριχός· τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ῥάχει τριχῶν ἄλλω μὲν ὀργάνῳ οὐδενὶ δεῖ ἄπτεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τρίβειν καὶ ἀπαλύνειν ἥπερ φύσει κέκλινται· ἥκιστα

6 γὰρ ἂν βλάπτοι τὴν ἑδραν τοῦ ἵππου. ὕδατι δὲ καταπλύνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν χρή. ὁστώδης γὰρ οὖσα εἰ σιδήρῳ ἢ ξύλῳ καθαίροιτο, λυποίη ἂν τὸν ἵππον. καὶ τὸ προκόμιον δὲ χρή βρέχειν καὶ γὰρ αὗται εὐμήκεις οὖσαι αἱ τρίχες ὁρᾶν μὲν οὐ κωλύουσι τὸν ἵππον, ἀποσοβοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ λυποῦντα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ οἶεσθαι χρή δεδωκέναι ταύτας τὰς τρίχας ἵππῳ ἀντὶ τῶν μεγάλων ὥτων, ἃ ὄνοις τε καὶ ἡμίονοις

7 ἔδοσαν ἀλεξητήρια πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων. καὶ οὐρὰν δὲ καὶ χαίτην πλύνειν χρή, ἐπεὶ περ αὖξιν δεῖ τὰς τρίχας, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξικνούμενος ἀποσοβῇται ὁ ἵππος τὰ λυποῦντα, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῇ τραχήλῳ, ὅπως τῷ ἀμβάτῃ

8 ὥς ἀφθονωτάτῃ ἀντίληψις ἦ. δέδοται δὲ παρὰ

¹ κατὰ MSS. : οὐ κατὰ S. with Gesner.

goes far towards preventing any propensity to mischief

He should tie up the horse at a place above the 4 head, because when anything irritates his face, the horse instinctively tries to get rid of it by tossing his head upwards; and if he is tied thus he loosens the halter instead of breaking it by tossing up his head

In rubbing the horse down, the man should start at 5 the head and mane, for if the upper parts are not clean, it is idle to clean his lower parts. Next, going over the rest of his body, he should make the hair stand up with all the dressing instruments,¹ and get the dust out by rubbing him the way the hair lies. But he should not touch the hair on the back-bone with any instrument, he should rub and smooth it down with the hands the way it naturally grows, for so he will be least likely to injure the rider's seat. He must wash the head well with 6 water, for, as it is bony, to clean it with iron or wood would hurt the horse. He must also wet the forelock, for this tuft of hair, even if pretty long, does not obstruct his sight, but drives from his eyes anything that worries them; and we must presume that the gods have given the horse this hair in lieu of the long ears that they have given to asses and mules as a protection to their eyes. He should also wash the tail and mane, for growth 7 of the tail is to be encouraged in order that the horse may be able to reach as far as possible and drive away anything that worries him, and growth of the mane in order to give the rider as good a hold as possible. Besides, the mane, forelock and tail have been 8

¹ The instructions are rather vague

θεῶν καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἔνεκα ἵππῳ χαίτη καὶ προ-
κόμιόν τε καὶ οὐρά. τεκμήριον δέ· αἱ γὰρ ἀγε-
λαῖαι τῶν ἵππων οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπομένουσι τοὺς
ὄνους ἐπὶ τῇ ὀχείᾳ, ἕως ἂν κομῶσιν· οὐ ἔνεκα
καὶ ἀποκείρουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀχείαν τὰς ἵππους
ἅπαντες οἱ ὀνοβατοῦντες.

9 Τὴν γε μὴν τῶν σκελῶν κατάπλυσιν ἀφαιρού-
μεν· ὠφελεῖ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν, βλάπτει δὲ τὰς
ὀπλὰς ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βρέξεις. καὶ τὴν
ὑπὸ γαστέρα δὲ ἄγαν κάθαρσιν μειοῦν χρή· αὕτη
γὰρ λυπεῖ μὲν μάλιστα τὸν ἵππον, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν
καθαρώτερα ταῦτα γένηται, τοσούτῳ πλείονα τὰ
10 λυποῦντα ἀθροίζει ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα· ἣν δὲ καὶ
πάνυ διαπονήσῃται τις ταῦτα, οὐ φθάνει τε
ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ εὐθύς ὁμοίός ἐστι τοῖς
ἀκαθάρτοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔαν χρή· ἀρκεῖ δὲ
καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ψῆξις αὐταῖς ταῖς χερσὶ
γιγνομένη.

VI. Δηλώσομεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς ἂν ἀβλα-
βέστατα μὲν τις ἑαυτῷ, τῷ δ' ἵππῳ ὠφελιμώτατα
ψήχοι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ βλέπων τῷ ἵππῳ
καθαίρη, κίνδυνος καὶ τῷ γόνατι καὶ τῇ ὀπλῇ
2 εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον πληγῆναι· ἦν δὲ ἀντία τῷ ἵππῳ
ὀρῶν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σκέλους, ὅταν καθαίρη, κατὰ
τὴν ὠμοπλάτην καθίζων ἀποτρίβῃ, οὕτω πάθοι
μὲν ἂν οὐδέν, δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν χελιδόνα τοῦ
ἵππου θεραπεύειν ἀναπτύσσων τὴν ὀπλήν. ὥς
δ' αὐτως καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν σκέλη καθαιρέτω.

¹ Several allusions to this erroneous belief of the Greeks are collected by the commentators.

² The text shows that the parts washed were not

given to the horse by the gods as an ornament. A proof of this is that brood mares herding together, so long as they have fine manes,¹ are reluctant to be covered by asses; for which reason all breeders of mules cut off the manes of the mares for covering

Washing down of the legs we disapprove of; it 0
does no good, and the hoofs are injured by being wetted every day. Excessive cleaning under the belly also should be diminished; for this worries the horse very much, and the cleaner these parts are, the more they collect under the belly things offensive to it,² and notwithstanding all the pains that 10
may be taken with these parts, the horse is no sooner led out than he looks much the same as an unwashed animal. So these operations should be omitted, and as for the rubbing of the legs, it is enough to do it with the bare hands

VI. We will now show how one may rub down a horse with least danger to oneself and most advantage to the horse. If in cleaning him³ the man faces in the same direction as the horse, he runs the risk of getting a blow in the face from his knee and his hoof. But if he faces in the opposite direction 2
to the horse and sits by the shoulder out of reach of his leg when he cleans him, and rubs him down so, then he will come to no harm, and can also attend to the horse's frog by lifting up the hoof⁴. Let him do exactly the same in cleaning the hind legs

thoroughly dried indeed, efficient drying cloths were not used. See Pollux i 185

¹ What follows refers to cleaning the fore legs, to which a
the text

introduction (p. xxxiv)
aching under the horse

- 3 εἶδέναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν περὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, ὅσα πρίττειν δεῖ, ὥς ἥκιστα χρὴ κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ οὐρὰν ποιήσοντα προσιέναι· ἦν γὰρ ἐπιχειρῇ ἀδικεῖν, κατ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα κρείττων ὁ ἵππος ἀνθρώπου. ἐκ πλαγίου δ' ἂν τις προσιὼν ἀβλαβέστατα μὲν ἑαυτῷ, κάλλιστα¹ δ' ἂν ἵππῳ δύναίτο χρῆσθαι.
- 4 Ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἄγειν δέη τὸν ἵππον, τὴν μὲν ὀπισθεν ἀγωγὴν διὰ τὰδε οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἄγοντι οὕτως ἥκιστα ἔστι φυλάξασθαι, τῷ δὲ ἵππῳ οὕτως μάλιστα ἔξεστι ποιῆσαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται. τὸ δ' αὖ ἔμπροσθεν μακρῷ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ προΐοντα διδάσκειν ὑψηγεῖσθαι τὸν ἵππον διὰ τὰδε αὖ ψέγομεν. ἔξεστι μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καθ' ὁπότερ' ἂν βούληται τῶν πλαγίων κακουργεῖν, ἔξεστι δὲ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἀντίον γίγνεσθαι τῷ
- 5 ἄγοντι. ἀθρόοι δὲ δὴ ἵπποι πῶς ἂν ποτε ἀλλήλων δύναιντο ἀπέχεσθαι οὕτως ἀγόμενοι; ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ ἵππος ἐθισθεὶς παράγεσθαι ἥκιστα μὲν ἂν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους δύναίτ' ἂν κακουργεῖν, κάλλιστα δ' ἂν παρεσκευασμένος τῷ ἀναβάτῃ εἴη καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τάχει ἀναβῆναι δεήσειεν.
- 7 Ἴνα δὲ ὁ ἵπποκόμος καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ὀρθῶς ἐμβάλλῃ, πρῶτον μὲν προσίτω κατὰ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ ἵππου· ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἡνίας περιβαλὼν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέτω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρωμίᾳ, τὴν δὲ κορυφαίαν τῇ δεξιᾷ αἰρέτω, τὸ δὲ στόμιον τῇ
- 8 ἀριστερᾷ προσφερέτω. κἂν μὲν δέχεται, δῆλον ὅτι περιτιθέναι δεῖ τὸν κεκρύφαλον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑποχάσκη, ἔχοντα δεῖ πρὸς τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὸν χαλινὸν τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς

¹ κάλλιστα Herwerden: πλείστα S. with the MSS.

The man employed about the horse is to know that in 3 these operations and in all that he has to do he must be very chary of approaching from the head or tail to do his work. For if the horse attempts to show mischief he has the man in his power in both these directions, but if he approaches from the side he can manage the horse with least danger to himself and in the best manner.

When it is necessary to lead the horse, we do not 4 approve of leading him behind one for this reason, that the man leading him is then least able to take care of himself while the horse has the utmost freedom to do whatever he chooses. On the other 5 hand we also disapprove of training the horse to go in front on a long lead for the following reasons: the horse has the power of misbehaving on either side as he chooses, and has also the power of turning round and facing his driver. And if several 6 horses together are driven in this fashion, how can they possibly be kept from interfering with one another? But a horse that is accustomed to being led from the side will have least power of doing harm either to horses or to men, and will be in the handiest position for the rider should he want to mount quickly.

In order to put the bit in properly, first let the 7 groom approach on the near side of the horse. Then let him throw the reins over the head and drop them on the withers, and next lift the headstall with the right hand and offer the bit with the left. If he takes the bit of course the bridle should be put 8 on. But if he refuses to open his mouth, the man must hold the bit to his teeth and put the thumb of

- εἰσω τῆς γνάθου τῷ ἵππῳ ποιῆσαι. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦτου γιγνομένου χαλῶσι τὸ στόμα. ἦν δὲ μὴδ' οὕτω δέχεται, πιεσάτω τὸ χεῖλος περὶ τῷ κυνόδοντι· καὶ πάντα τινὲς ὀλίγοι οὐ δέχονται
- 9 τοῦτο πάσχοντες. δεδιδάχθω δὲ καὶ τάδε ὁ ἵπποκόμος, πρῶτον μὲν μήποτε ἄγειν τῆς ἡνίας τὸν ἵππον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἑτερογνάθους ποιεῖ· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσον δεῖ ἀπέχειν τὸν χαλινὸν τῶν γνάθων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πρὸς αὐταῖς τυλοῖ τὸ στόμα, ὥστε μὴ εὐαίσθητον εἶναι, ὁ δὲ ἄγαν εἰς ἄκρον τὸ στόμα καθιέμενος ἐξουσίαν παρέχει συνδάκνοντι
- 10 τὸ στόμιον μὴ πείθεσθαι. χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὰ τοιάδε παρατηρεῖν, εἰ μὴ ῥαδίως τὸν χαλινὸν ὁ ἵππος δέχεται, αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι¹ δεῖ πονεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ λαμβάειν ἐθέλειν τὸν ἵππον τὸν χαλινόν, ὡς ὁ μὴ δεχόμενος
- 11 παντάπασιν ἄχρηστος. ἦν δὲ μὴ μόνον ὅταν πονεῖν μέλλῃ χαλινῶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ ὅταν ἐξ ἵππασίας εἰς οἶκον ἀπάγῃται, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀρπάξοι² τὸν χαλινὸν αὐτόματος προτεινόμενον.
- 12 Ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ ἀναβάλλειν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον, ὅπως αὐτός τε ὁ δεσπότης, ἦν ποτε ἀρρωστήσῃ ἢ πρεσβύτερος γένηται, ἔχῃ τὸν εὐπετῶς ἀναβιβάζοντα καὶ ἄλλῳ ἦν τινι βούληται τὸν ἀναβαλοῦντα ἐπιχαρίσῃται.
- 13 Τὸ δὲ μήποτε σὺν ὀργῇ τῷ ἵππῳ προσφέρεσθαι, ἔν τούτῳ καὶ δίδαγμα καὶ ἔθισμα πρὸς ἵππον ἄριστον. ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, ὥστε πολ-

¹ ἵπποκόμον . . . ὅτι A: the other MSS have παραξύνθαι for the παρατηρεῖν of AB; all but A omit μὴ . . . αἰσθανόμενος, and have τι for ὅτι: S. adds ἵππον μὴ κατὰ τοιάδε παρωξύνθαι, εἴ τι between τὸν and δεῖ.

the left hand in the horse's jaw. Most horses open the mouth when this is done. If he still resists, the man should squeeze his lip against the bit; and very few resist when they are treated in this way. The groom should also be instructed in the following points: first, never to lead the horse on the rein—that gives the horse a hard mouth on one side—and secondly, what is the correct distance from the bit to the jaws. For if it is too high up, it hardens the mouth so that it loses its sensibility, and if it lies too low in the mouth, it gives the horse power to take it between his teeth and refuse to obey. The groom must also pay some attention to such points as the following: whether the horse will not easily take the bit when he knows that he has work to do. Willingness to receive the bit is, in fact, so important that a horse that refuses it is quite useless. But if he is bridled not only when he is going to be ridden but also when he is taken to his food and when he is led home from exercise, it would not be at all surprising if he seized the bit of his own accord when offered to him.

It is well for the groom to know how to give a leg up in the Persian fashion,¹ so that his master himself, in case he is indisposed or is getting old may have someone to put him up conveniently, and may, if he wishes, oblige his friend with a man to give him a lift-up.

The one best rule and practice in dealing with a horse is never to approach him in anger; for anger is a reckless thing, so that it often makes a man do what

¹ *Don't forget!* (number, 1, 17).

² $\Delta_{\text{red}}(a, A) = \Delta_{\text{red}}(a, B) = 1(1), (1) = 1(1) = 1(1)$.

- τῷ δεξιῷ, τότε σημαίνοι τῷ ἵππῳ τὸ ἐπιρρα-
 12 βδοφορεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἀριστερὸν μέλλων αἶρειν ἐκ
 τούτου ἂν ἄρχοιτο, καὶ ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώνυμα
 ἀναστρέφοι, τότε καὶ τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως ἄρχοιτο.
 καὶ γὰρ πέφυκεν ὁ ἵππος εἰς μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ
 στρεφόμενος τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰς εὐώνυμα
 δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς.
- 13 Ἴππασίαν δ' ἐπαινοῦμεν τὴν πέδην καλουμένην
 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς γνάθους στρέφεσθαι
 ἐθίζει. καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἵππασίαν
 ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἀμφότεραι αἱ γνάθοι καθ' ἑκάτερον
 14 τῆς ἵππασίας ἰσάζωνται. ἐπαινοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν
 ἑτερομήκη πέδην μᾶλλον τῆς κυκλοτεροῦς. ἥδιον
 μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἂν στρέφοιτο ὁ ἵππος ἤδη πλήρης
 ὦν τοῦ εὐθέος καὶ τό τε ὀρθοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸ
 15 ἀποκάμπτειν ἅμα μελετῶν ἂν. δεῖ δὲ καὶ
 ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον
 τῷ ἵππῳ οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ τάχει ὄντα κάμπτειν
 ἐν μικρῷ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπόκροτον ἢ ὀλισθηρὸν
 16 ἢ τὸ χωρίον. ὅταν γε μὴν ὑπολαμβάνῃ, ὥς
 ἦκιστα μὲν χρὴ τὸν ἵππον πλαγιοῦν τῷ χαλινῷ,
 ὥς ἦκιστα δ' αὐτὸν πλαγιοῦσθαι· εἰ δέ μή, εὖ
 χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι μικρὰ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει κεῖσθαι
 17 καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον. ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἐκ
 τῆς στροφῆς εἰς τὸ εὐθύς βλέπη ὁ ἵππος, ἐν
 τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ θᾶπτον αὐτὸν ὀρμάτω. δῆλον

....¹ A remarkable proof of X's power of observation
 "hit fore leg, the
 " assumes when
 strike off with

to gallop while trotting, at the instant when he is treading with the right (fore) foot. As he is then 12 on the point of raising the left, he will begin with it, and, as soon as the rider turns him to the left, will immediately begin the stride. For it is natural for the horse to lead with the right when turned to the right, and with the left when turned to the left.¹

The exercise that we recommend is the one called 13 the ring,² since it accustoms the horse to turn on both jaws. It is also well to change the exercise,³ in order that both jaws may be equally practised on each side of the exercise.⁴ We recommend the 14 manage⁵ rather than the complete ring, for thus the horse will turn more willingly when he has gone some distance in a straight course, and one can practise the career and the turn at the same time. It is necessary to collect him at the turns, for it is 15 neither easy for the horse nor safe to turn short when going fast, especially if the ground is uneven or slippery. In collecting him the rider must slant the 16 horse as little as possible with the bit, and slant his own body as little as possible, else he may be sure that a trifling cause will be enough to bring him and his horse down. As soon as the horse 17 faces the straight after turning, push him along at

now volte. Of course the horse was exercised first in one direction, then in the other.

¹ i.e. ride on the other hand. This is not part of the volte.

² i.e. may have both jaws equally sensitive on whichever hand he is ridden.

³ I have ventured to use this term since X. means precisely what Gervase Markham calls the "manage" in the strict sense, i.e. two straight treads with a semicircle at either end.

γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ στροφαὶ εἰσιν
ἢ τοῦ διώκειν ἢ τοῦ ἀποχωρεῖν ἕνεκα. ἀγαθὸν
18 οὖν τὸ στραφέντα ταχύνειν μελετᾶν. ὅταν δὲ
ἱκανῶς ἤδη δοκῇ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῷ ἵππῳ ἔχειν,
ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαπαύσαντα ὀρμῆσαι ἐξαίφνης εἰς
τὸ τάχιστον καὶ ἀφ' ἵππων μέντοι, μὴ¹ πρὸς
ἵππους· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ταχέος αὐτὸς ὡς ἐγγυτάτω
ἡρεμίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐστάναι δὲ στρέψαντα
πάλιν² ὀρμᾶν. πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ
ὅτε ἐκατέρου τούτων δεήσει.

19 Ὅταν γε μὴν καταβαίνειν ἤδη καιρὸς ᾖ, μήτε
ἐν ἵπποις ποτὲ καταβαίνειν μήτε παρασυστασιν
ἀνθρώπων μήτε ἔξω τῆς ἵππασίας, ἀλλ' ὅπου περ
καὶ πονεῖν ἀναγκάζεται ὁ ἵππος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς
ῥαστώνης τυγχανέτω.

VIII. Ἐπειδή περ ἔστιν ὅπου τρέχειν δεήσει
τὸν ἵππον καὶ πρηνῇ καὶ ὀρθῇ καὶ πλάγῃ,
ἔστι δ' ὅπου διαπηδᾶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ ἐκπηδᾶν,
ἐνθα δὲ καὶ καθάλλεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα
διδάσκειν τε δεῖ καὶ μελετᾶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν
ἵππον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σωτήριοί τε εἶεν ἀλλήλοις
καὶ καθόλου³ χρησιμώτεροι ἂν δοκοῖεν εἶναι.

2 Εἰ δέ τις διλογεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται, ὅτι περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν λέγομεν νῦν τε καὶ πρόσθεν, οὐ διλογία
ταῦτά ἐστιν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐωνεῖτο, πειρᾶσθαι
ἐκελεύομεν, εἰ δύναίτο ὁ ἵππος ταῦτα ποιεῖν·
νῦν δὲ διδάσκειν φαμέν χρήναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
γράφομεν, ὡς δεῖ διδάσκειν.

¹ μὴ MSS. : καὶ S. with Camerarius.

² πάλιν Lenblau : δεῖ πάλιν S. with the MSS.

³ καθόλου placed here by Pollack : in the MSS. it comes
after αὐτὸν in the previous sentence : S. omits with Dindorf.

once For of course, in war too, turns are made with a view to pursuit or retreat It is well, therefore, to practise increasing the pace after turning So 18 soon as the horse appears to have been exercised enough, it is well to let him rest a certain time, and then suddenly to put him to his top speed again, of course away from, not towards, other horses, and to pull him up again in the midst of his career as short as possible, and then to turn and start him again *from the stand* For it is obvious that a time will come when it will be necessary to do one or the other

When the time has come to dismount the rider 19 must never dismount among other horses or near a group of people or outside the riding ground, but let the place where the horse is forced to work be the place where he also receives his reward of ease

VIII As the horse will frequently have to gallop down hill and up hill and along a slope, and as he will have to leap over, and to leap out, and to jump down at various times, the rider must teach and practise both himself and his horse in all these things For thus they will be able to help each other, and will be thought altogether more efficient

If anyone thinks that we are repeating ourselves, 2 because we are referring to matters already dealt with, this is not repetition For we recommended the purchaser to try whether the horse could do these things at the time of buying but now we say that a man should teach his own horse, and we will show how to teach him.

- 3 Τοι μὲν γὰρ ταιτάσσει ἄπειροι τοῦ διατηδᾶν
λαβόντα δεῖ τοῦ ἀγωγέως καταβεβλημένου προ-
διαβῆναι αὐτὸν τὴν ῥάβδον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐνταύτῃ
4 δεῖ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ, ὅς διὰ ληται ἢ δὲ μὴ ἐθέλῃ,
ἔχων τις μιστιγα ἢ ῥάβδοι ἐμβαλέτω ὅς ἰσχυ-
ροῦσιν· καὶ οὕτως ἵεραλεῖται οἱ τὸ μέτρον,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλείοι τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
οὐδὲι δεήσει ταίει, ἀλλ' ἦν μοῖοι ἰδὼ ὅτι σθέν
5 τινα ἐπελθόντα, ἀλείται. ἔπειδ' ἂν δὲ οὕτω
διατηδᾶν ἐθισθῇ, καὶ ἀιαβεσθηκὼς ἱαγέτω τὸ
μὲν τρῶτον μικρὺς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μείζους ὅταν
δὲ μέλλῃ τηδᾶν, ταισάτω αὐτὸν τῷ μίωτι.
ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀιατηδᾶν καὶ τὸ κατατηδᾶν
διδάσκων ταισάτω τῷ μίωτι. ἀθρόω γὰρ τῷ
σωματι ταῦτα πάντα τοιῶι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὁ ἵππος
καὶ τῷ ἀιαβύτῃ ἀσφαλέστεροι ποιήσει μᾶλλον
ἢ ἂν ἐλλείπῃ τὰ ὀπισθεν ἢ διατηδῶν ἢ ἀιορούων
ἢ καθαλλόμενος
6 Εἰς γε μὴν τὸ κάταντες τρῶτον χρὴ ἐν μαλακῷ
χωρίῳ διδάσκειν. καὶ τελευτῶν ἔπειδ' ἂν τοῦτο
ἐθισθῇ, πολὺ ἥδιον τὸ πραιὲς τοῦ ὀρθίου δρα-
μεῖται ἢ δὲ φοβουνταί τινες μὴ ἀπορρηγνύωνται
τοὺς ὤμους κατὰ τὰ πρηνῇ ἐλαυνόμενοι, θαρ-
ρούντων μαθόντες, ὅτι Πέρσαι καὶ Ὀδρύσαι
ἅπαντες τὰ κατάντη ἀμιλλώμενοι οὐδὲν ἦττον
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑγιεῖς τοὺς ἵππους ἔχουσι.
7 Παρήσομεν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπως τὸν ἀναβάτην ὑπη-
ρετεῖν δεῖ πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτῳ. χρὴ γὰρ ὁρμῶντος
μὲν ἐξαίφνης ἵππου προνεύειν ἦττον γὰρ ἂν καὶ
ὑποδύνει ὁ ἵππος καὶ ἀναβάλοι τὸν ἀναβάτην
ἐν μικρῷ δὲ ἀναλαμβανομένου ἀναπίπτειν. ἦττον
8 γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς κόπτοιο ταφρον δὲ διαλλομένου

When a man has a raw horse quite ignorant of leaping, he must get over the ditch himself first, holding him loosely by the leading rein, and then give him a pull with the rein to make him leap over. If he refuses, let someone strike him as hard as he can with a whip or a stick whereupon he will leap, and not only the necessary distance, but much further than was required. In future there will be no need to beat him, for if he merely sees a man approaching behind him, he will leap. As soon as he has grown accustomed to leap in this way, let him be mounted and tried first at narrow, and then at wider ditches. Just as he is on the point of springing touch him with the spur. Similarly he should be taught to leap up and to leap down by a touch of the spur. For if he does all these things with his body compactly gathered, it will be safer for the horse as well as the rider than if his hind quarters lag in taking a leap over, or in springing upwards or jumping downwards.

Going down hill should first be taught on soft ground, and in the end, when the horse gets used to this, he will canter down more readily than up hill. If some fear that horses may put out their shoulders by being ridden down hill, they may take comfort when they understand that the Persians and Odrysians all ride races down hill, and yet keep their horses just as sound as the Greeks.

Nor will we omit to state how the rider is to assist in all these movements. If the horse springs suddenly, he should lean forward, for so the horse is less likely to slip away and throw the rider off. But in pulling him up short he should lean back, for so he himself will be less jolted. When jumping

καὶ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰεμένον καλὸν¹ χαίτης ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ὥς μὴ ὁ ἵππος τῷ τε χωρίῳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ βαρύνηται. εἰς γε μὴν τὸ πρᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπτιαστέον καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἀντιληπτέον τῷ χαλινῷ, ὥς μὴ προπετῶς εἰς τὸ κάταντες μήτε αὐτὸς μήτε ὁ ἵππος φέρεται.

9 Ὅρθως δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις, ἄλλοτε δὲ μακρὰς ἄλλοτε δὲ βραχείας τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἀμισέστερα γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις καὶ ὁμοίως τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι.

10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ ἐν παντοίοις τε χωρίοις τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος² ἐλαύνοντα ἔποχον εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῖς ὅπλοις καλῶς δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ὅπου μὲν ἐστὶ χωρία ἐπιτήδεια καὶ θηρία, ἅμεμπτος ἢ ἐν θήραις μελέτη τῆς ἵππικῆς· ὅπου δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ὑπάρχει, ἀγαθὴ ἀσκήσις καὶ ἦν δύο ἱππότα συνθεμένῳ ὁ μὲν φεύγῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παντοῖα χωρία καὶ τὸ δόρυ εἰς τοῦπισθεν μεταβαλόμενος ὑποχωρῇ, ὁ δὲ διώκῃ ἐσφαιρωμένα τε ἔχων ἀκόντια καὶ δόρυ ὡσαύτως πεπραγματευμένον· καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἂν εἰς ἀκόντιον ἀφικνῇται, ἀκοντίξῃ τὸν φεύγοντα τοῖς σφαιρωτοῖς· ὅπου δ' ἂν εἰς
11 δόρατος πληγὴν, παίῃ τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ κἄν ποτε συμπέσωσιν, ἐλκύσαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν πολέμιον ἐξαίφνης ἀπῶσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ καταβλητικόν. ὀρθῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τῷ ἐλκομένῳ ἐπε-

¹ καλὸν AB: κακὸν M: οὐ κακὸν S. with L.

² ἀνὰ κράτος MSS.: S. reads ἀγκράτος from Suidas.

a ditch or riding up hill it is well ¹ to take hold of the mane, that the horse may not be burdened by his bridle and the difficulty of the ground at the same time. When going down a steep incline, he should throw his body back and support the horse with the bridle, that neither rider nor horse may be tossed headlong down hill.

It is correct also to exercise the horse sometimes 9 in one place, sometimes in another, and to make the exercises sometimes long and sometimes short, for this is less irksome to the horse than being exercised always in the same place and for the same length of time.

Since it is necessary that the rider should have a 10 firm seat when riding at top speed over all sorts of country, and should be able to use his weapons properly on horseback, the practice of horsemanship by hunting is to be recommended where the country is suitable and big game is to be found. Where these conditions are lacking, it is a good method of training for two riders to work together thus: one lies on his horse over all kinds of ground and retreats, reversing his spear so that it points backwards, while the other pursues, having buttons on his javelin and holding his spear in the same position, and when he gets within javelin shot, tries to hit the fugitive with the blunted weapons, and if he gets near enough to use his spear, strikes his captive with it. It is also a good plan, 11 in case of a collision between them, for one to pull his adversary towards him and suddenly push him back again, since that is the way to dismount him. The right thing for the man who is being pulled is to

¹ Of course no modern rider would approve of this.

- λαύνειν τὸν ἵππον· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ ἐλκόμενος καταβάλοι ἂν μᾶλλον τὸν ἔλκοντα ἢ κατατέσοι.
- 12 Ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ στρατοπέδου ἀντικαθημένον ἀνθιππεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ διώκωσι μὲν μέχρι τῆς πολεμίας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἀντίους, φεύγωσι δὲ μέχρι τῆς φιλίας, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι ἕως μὲν ἂν παρὰ τοὺς φίλους τις ἦ, καλὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπιστρέψαντα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπικεῖσθαι, ὅταν δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐναντίων γίγνηται, ὑποχείριον τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὡς τὸ εἶκος μάλιστα δύναίτο βλάπτων τοὺς ἐναντίους μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν.
- 13 Ἀνθρώποις μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον θεοὶ ἔδωσαν λόγῳ διδάσκειν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἵππον δὲ δῆλον ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν διδάξαις· ἦν δὲ ὅταν μὲν ποιήσῃ ὡς ἂν βούλῃ, ἀντιχαρίσῃ αὐτῷ, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῇ, κολάζῃς, οὕτω μάλιστα μάθοι ἂν τὸ δέον ὑπηρετεῖν· καὶ ἔστι μὲν τοῦτο ἐν βραχεὶ εἰπεῖν, δι-
- 14 ὅλης δὲ τῆς ἵππικῆς παρακολουθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ χαλινὸν μᾶλλον ἂν λαμβάνοι, εἰ ὅποτε δέξαιτο ἀγαθόν τι αὐτῷ ἀποβαίνοι καὶ διαπηδῶν δ' ἂν καὶ ἐξάλλοιτο καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὑπηρετοίῃ ἂν, εἰ προσδοκῶν ὅποτε τὰ σημαινόμενα πράξειε ῥαστώνην τινά.
- IX. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ εἰρημένα ταῦτά ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν ἦκιστα μὲν ἐξαπατῶτο καὶ πῶλον καὶ ἵππον ὠνούμενος, ἦκιστα δ' ἂν διαφθείραι χρώμενος, μάλιστα δ' ἂν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύειν δέοι ἔχοντα ὦν ἵππεὺς δεῖται εἰς πόλεμον. καιρὸς δ' ἴσως γράψαι καὶ εἴ ποτε συμβαίῃ θυμοειδεστέρῳ ἵππῳ τοῦ καιροῦ χρῆσθαι ἢ βλακωδεστέρῳ, ὡς ἂν ὀρθότατα ἐκατέρῳ χρῶτο.

urge his horse forward ; by doing this the pulled is more likely to unhorse the puller than to be unhorsed himself.

If at any time when an enemy's camp lies in front 12 there is a cavalry skirmish, and one side presses the pursuit right up to the enemy's line of battle, but then retreats hastily to its own main body, it is well to know in that case that so long as you are by your friends, it is proper and safe to be among the first to wheel and make for the enemy at full speed, but when you come near the enemy to keep your horse well in hand. For in this way you have the best chance of injuring the enemy without coming to harm yourself.

Now, whereas the gods have given to men the power 13 of instructing one another in their duty by word of mouth, it is obvious that you can teach a horse nothing by word of mouth. If, however, you reward him when he behaves as you wish, and punish him when he is disobedient, he will best learn to do his duty. This rule can be stated in few words, but it applies 14 to the whole art of horsemanship. He will receive the bit, for example, more willingly if something good happens to him as soon as he takes it. He will also leap over and jump out of anything, and perform all his actions duly if he can expect a rest as soon as he has done what is required of him.

IX So far we have described how to avoid being cheated in buying a colt or a horse, how to avoid spoiling him in usage and how to impart to a horse all the qualities required by a cavalryman for war. It is time perhaps to give directions, in case one has to deal with a horse that is too spirited or too sluggish, for the correct way of managing either.

- 2 Πρῶτον τοίνυν χρὴ τοῦτο γινῶναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ
θυμὸς ἵππῳ ὅπερ ὀργὴ ἀνθρώπῳ. ὥσπερ οὖν
καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἤκιστ' ἂν ὀργίζοι τις μήτε λέγων
χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε ποιῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἵππον
3 θυμοειδῇ ὁ μὴ ἀνιῶν ἤκιστ' ἂν ἐξοργίζοι. εὐθύς
μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὥς
ἂν ἤκιστ' ἀναβαίνων λυποίῃ· ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀναβῇ,
ἡρεμήσαντα πλείω χρόνον ἢ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα
οὕτω προκινεῖν αὐτὸν ὥς πραοτάτοις σημείοις.
ἔπειτα δ' ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὕτως
αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ θάττον προάγειν, ὥς ἂν μάλιστα
λανθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφικνού-
4 μενος. ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης σημήνῃ, θυμοειδῇ
ἵππον ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον ταραττει τὰ ἐξαπίναια
καὶ ὀράματα καὶ ἀκούσματα καὶ παθήματα.
εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ τὰ ἐξαπίναια
5 τάραχον ἐξεργάζεται.¹ ἦν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ θάττον
ὀρμώμενον τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν βούλῃ τὸν
θυμοειδῇ, οὐ δεῖ ἐξαπιναίως σπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμαίως
προσάγεσθαι τῷ χαλινῷ πραύνοντα, οὐ βιαζό-
6 μενον ἡρεμεῖν. καὶ αἱ τε μακρὰ ἐλάσεις μᾶλλον
ἢ αἱ πυκναὶ ἀποστροφαὶ πραύνουσι τοὺς ἵππους
καὶ αἱ ἡσυχαῖαι μὲν,² πολυχρόνιοι δὲ³ καθέψουσι
καὶ πραύνουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεγείρουσι τὸν θυμοειδῇ.
7 εἰ δέ τις οἶεται, ἦν ταχὺ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλαύνηται,
ἀπειπεῖν ποιήσας τὸν ἵππον πραύνειν, τάναντία
γινώσκει τοῦ γιγνομένου. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις
ὁ θυμοειδὴς καὶ ἄγειν βίᾳ μάλιστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ
σὺν τῇ ὀργῇ ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος ὀργίλος πολλάκις
καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην πολλὰ ἀνήκεστα

¹ S. with Cobet would omit this sentence. The καὶ before
4 is in A only, and is therefore not in S.

First, then, it must be realised that spirit in a 2
 horse is precisely what anger is in a man. Therefore,
 just as you are least likely to make a man angry if
 you neither say nor do anything disagreeable to
 him, so he who abstains from annoying a spirited
 horse is least likely to rouse his anger. Accordingly, 3
 at the moment of mounting, the rider should take
 care to worry him as little as possible, and when he
 is mounted, he should let him stand still longer than
 is otherwise usual, and then direct him to go by the
 most gentle aids. Then let him begin at a very slow
 pace and increase the speed with the same gentle
 help, so that the horse will not be aware of the tran-
 sition to a quicker motion. Any sudden sign disturbs 4
 a spirited horse, just as sudden sights and sounds and
 sensations disturb a man. It is important to realise
 that a horse too is flurried by anything sudden. If 5
 you want to correct a spirited horse when he is going
 too fast, do not pull him suddenly, but quietly check
 him with the bit, soothing him, not forcing him, to a
 quiet pace. Long rides rather than frequent turn 6
 ings, calm horses, and quiet ones lasting long soothe
 and calm a spirited horse and do not excite him. But 7
 if anyone supposes that he will calm a horse by
 frequent riding at a quick pace so as to tire him,
 his opinion is the opposite of the truth. For in such
 cases a spirited horse does his utmost to get the upper
 hand by force, and in his excitement, like an angry
 man, he often causes many irreparable injuries both

² *μὲν* is omitted by S

³ *πολυχρόνιοι δὲ* Madvig *πολυὺν δὲ χρόνον* A *πολὺν χρόνον*
 S with the other MSS

8 ἐποίησεν. ἐπιλαμβάνειν δὲ χρή ἵππον θυμοειδῆ καὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸ τάχιστον ὀρμᾶν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ παραβάλλειν ἵππῳ καὶ παιτῶσιν ἀπέχεσθαι σχεδὸν γὰρ καὶ φιλονικύτατοι οἱ θυμοειδέστατοι τῶν ἵππων γίγνονται.

9 Καὶ χαλινοὶ δὲ οἱ λεῖοι ἐπιτηδειότεροι τῶν τραχέων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τραχὺς ἐμβληθῇ, τῇ χαλαρότητι λείῳ δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀφομοιοῦν. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἐθίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἡρεμεῖν, μάλιστα ἐπὶ θυμοειδοῦς ἵππου, καὶ τὸ ὥς ἥκιστα ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἅπτεσθαι ἢ οἷς τοῦ καθῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς ἔνεκα ἀπτόμεθα.

10 Εἰδέναι δὲ χρή, ὅτι δίδαγμά ἐστι καὶ τὸ ποππυσμῷ μὲν πραΐνεσθαι, κλωγμῷ δὲ ἐγείρεσθαι. καὶ εἴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μὲν κλωγμῷ τὰ πραέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ποππυσμῷ τὰ χαλεπὰ προσφέρει, μάθοι ἂν ὁ ἵππος ποππυσμῷ μὲν ἐγείρεσθαι, κλωγμῷ

11 δὲ πραΐνεσθαι. οὕτως οὖν δεῖ καὶ παρὰ κραυγὴν καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μήτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένον τῷ ἵππῳ μήτε μὴν ἐκείνῳ θορυβῶδες μηδὲν προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἀναπαύειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ἄριστα καὶ δεῖπνα, εἰ
12 συγχωροίη, προσφέρειν. κάλλιστον δὲ συμβούλευμα τὸ ἄγαν θυμοειδῆ ἵππον μὴ κτᾶσθαι εἰς πολέμους.

Βλακί γε μὴν ἵππῳ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τὰναντία ποιεῖν ὅσα τῷ θυμοειδεῖ χρήσθαι συμβουλεύομεν.

Χ. Ἦν δέ τίς ποτε βουληθῇ χρήσθαι τῷ

to himself and to his rider One must prevent¹ a high spirited horse from going at his top speed, and of course, entirely avoid letting him race with another horse, for as a rule the most highly spirited horses are also most eager for victory

As for bits, the smooth are more suitable than the rough, but if a rough one is used, it should be made to resemble a smooth one by lightness of hand It is also well to accustom oneself to sit still especially on a spirited horse and to touch him as little as possible with anything other than the parts that give us a safe seat by contact

It should also be known that a horse can be taught to be calm by a chirp with the lips and to be roused by a cluck with the tongue And if from the first you use with the cluck aids to calm him, and with the chirp aids to rouse him, the horse will learn to rouse himself at the chirp and to calm down at the cluck Accordingly, if a shout is heard or a trumpet sounds, you must not allow the horse to notice any sign of alarm in you, and must on no account do anything to him to cause him alarm, but as far as possible let him rest in such circumstances, and, if you have the opportunity, bring him his morning or evening meal But the best advice is not to get an over spirited horse for war

As for a sluggish beast, I may be content with the remark that in everything you must do the opposite of what we advise for the treatment of a high spirited one

X If a man wants to make a useful war horse

¹ Or, reading *τότε του* for *του* with Pollack one must try to stop a spirited horse even then from going at his full speed. A has *τότε* for *του*

- χρησίμῳ εἰς πόλεμον ἵππῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον
 τε καὶ περιβλεπτοτέρῳ ἵππάζεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν
 ἔλκειν τε τὸ στόμα τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ μυωίζειν
 τε καὶ μαστιγοῦν ὃν ἵππον, ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ ποι-
 οῦντες λαμπρύνειν οἰοῦται, ἀέχεσθαι δεῖ πάντα
 γὰρ ταῖαιτία οὗτοί γε τοιοῦσιν ὧν βούλονται.
 2 τὰ τε γὰρ στόματα ἔλκοιτες αἶψα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τροοῦ ἐκτυφλοῦσι τοῖς ἵππους καὶ μυωίζοντες
 καὶ ταίοντες ἐκλήττονουσιν, ὥστε τεταράχθαι καὶ
 κινδυνεύειν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἵππων ἔργα τῶν
 μάλιστα ἀχθομέων ἵππασία καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ
 3 οὐ καλὰ ποιούντων. εἰ δέ τις διδάξῃ τὸν ἵππον
 ἐν χαλαρῷ μὲν τῷ χαλινῷ ἵπτεῦν, ἄνω δὲ τὸ
 αὐχένα διαίρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρτοῦσθαι,
 οὕτως ἂν ἀπεργάζοιτο τοιεῖν τὸν ἵππον οἷοισιν
 4 καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδεταί τε καὶ ἀγάλλεται. τεκμήριον
 δὲ ὅτι τούτοις ἡδεταί. ὅταν γὰρ σχηματοποι-
 εῖσθαι θέλῃ¹ παρ' ἵππους, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν
 παρὰ θηλείας, τότε αἶρει τε τὸν αὐχένα αἰωτάτω
 καὶ κυρτοῖ μάλιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν γοργοῦμεος
 καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέλη ὑγρὰ μετεωρίζει, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰ
 5 ἄνω ἀνατείνει. ὅταν οὖν τις αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα
 προάγῃ, ἅπερ αὐτὸς σχηματοποιεῖται, ὅταν
 μάλιστα καλλωτίζεται, οὕτως ἡδόμενόν τε τῇ
 ἵππασίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ γοργὸν καὶ περι-
 βλέπτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἵππον ὥς οὖν ἡγούμεθα
 ταῦτ' ἂν ἀπεργασθῆναι, νῦν αὖ πειρασόμεθα
 διηγεῖσθαι.
 6 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν χρὴ οὐ μείον δυοῖν χαλινοῖν
 κεκτῆσθαι. τούτων δὲ ἕστω ὁ μὲν λείος, τοὺς

¹ σχηματοποιεῖσθαι θέλῃ A. the rest have θέλῃ only B
 reads λυθεῖς θεῇ with Jacobs

look more stately and showy when ridden, he must avoid pulling his mouth with the bit, and using the spur and whip, means by which most people imagine that they show off a horse. In point of fact the results they produce are the very opposite of what they intend. For by dragging the mouth up they 2 blind their horses instead of letting them see ahead, and by spurring and whipping, flurry them so that they are startled and get into danger.¹ That is the behaviour of horses that strongly object to being ridden and that behave in an ugly and unseemly fashion. But if you teach the horse to go with a 3 slack bridle, to hold his neck up and to arch it towards the head, you will cause the horse to do the very things in which he himself delights and takes the greatest pleasure. A proof that he delights in 4 them is that whenever he himself chooses to show off before horses, and especially before mares, he raises his neck highest and arches his head most, looking fierce, he lifts his legs freely off the ground and tosses his tail up. Whenever, therefore, you 5 induce him to carry himself in the attitudes he naturally assumes when he is most anxious to display his beauty, you make him look as though he took pleasure in being ridden, and give him a noble, fierce, and attractive appearance. How we think that these effects may be produced we will now try to explain.

To begin with, you should possess two bits at 6 least.² One of these should be smooth and have the

¹ Or, reading *diverſe* which occurred to Pollack and the translator independently, 'twist about,' "indulge in reactions." This is much more probable.

² See Introduction.

- τροχούς εὐμεγέθεις ἔχων, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τοὺς μὲν
τροχούς καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ ταπεινούς, τοὺς δ' ἐχίνοις
ὀξεῖς, ἵνα ὁπόταν μὲν τοῦτον λάβῃ, ἀσχάλλων
τῇ τραχύτητι διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίῃ, ὅταν δὲ τὸν λεῖον
μεταλάβῃ, τῇ μὲν λειότητι αὐτοῦ ἡσθῇ, ἡ δὲ
ὑπὸ τοῦ τραχέος παιδευθῇ, ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ
7 λείῳ ποιῇ. ἦν δ' αὖ καταφρονήσας τῆς λειότητος
θαμινὰ ἀπερείδηται ἐν αὐτῷ, τούτου ἕνεκα τοῖς
τροχούς μεγάλους τῷ λείῳ προστίθεμεν ἵνα
χάσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίῃ τὸ
στόμιον. οἷόν τε δὲ καὶ τὸν τραχὺν παντο
δαπὸν ποιεῖν καὶ κατεiloῦντα καὶ κατατείνοντα.
8 ὁποῖοι δ' ἂν ὦσι χαλινοί, πάντες ὑγροὶ ἔστωσαν.
τὸν μὲν γὰρ σκληρόν, ὅπῃ ἂν ὁ ἵππος λάβῃ, ὅλον
ἔχει πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις· ὥσπερ καὶ ὀβελίσκον,
9 ὁπόθεν ἂν τις λάβῃ, ὅλον αἶρει. ὁ δ' ἕτερος
ὥσπερ ἡ ἄλυσις ποιεῖ· ὁ γὰρ ἂν ἔχῃ τις αὐτοῦ,
τοῦτο μόνον ἄκαμπτον μένει, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπήρτη-
ται. τὸ δὲ φεῦγον ἐν τῷ στόματι αἰεὶ θηρεύων
ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τῶν γνάθων τὸ στόμιον· τούτου
ἕνεκα καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων δακτύ-
λιοι κρεμίννυνται, ὅπως τούτους διώκων τῇ τε
γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀμελῇ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν
πρὸς τὰς γνάθους τὸν χαλινόν.
10 Εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, τί τὸ ὑγρὸν τοῦ χαλινοῦ καὶ
τί τὸ σκληρόν, γράψομεν καὶ τοῦτο. ὑγρὸν μὲν
γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν οἱ ἄξονες εὐρείας καὶ λείας ἔχωσι
τὰς συμβολάς, ὥστε ῥαδίως κύμπεσθαι, καὶ

¹ So as to mitigate the roughness of the teeth. This was sometimes done by covering the teeth with wax (Pollux i. 207).

discs of a good size, the other should have the discs heavy and low, and the teeth sharp, so that when the horse seizes it he may drop it because he objects to its roughness, and when he is bitten with the smooth one instead, may welcome its smoothness and may do on the smooth bit what he has been trained to do with the aid of the rough one. In 7 case, however, he takes no account of it because of its smoothness, and keeps bearing against it, we put large discs on the smooth bit to stop this, so that they may force him to open his mouth and drop the bit. It is possible also to make the rough bit adaptable by wrapping¹ it up and tightening the reins². But whatever be the pattern of the 8 bits, they must all be flexible. For wherever a horse seizes a stiff one, he holds the whole of it against his jaws, just as you lift the whole of a spit wherever you take hold of it. But the other kind of 9 bit acts like a chain for only the part that you hold remains unbent, while the rest of it hangs loose. As the horse continually tries to seize the part that eludes him in his mouth, he lets the bit drop from his jaws. This is why little rings³ are hung in the middle on the axles, in order that the horse may feel after them with his tongue and teeth and not think of taking the bit up against the jaws.

In case the meaning of the terms flexible and 10 stiff as applied to a bit is not known, we will explain this too. "Flexible" means that the axles have broad and smooth links so that they bend easily,

¹ See c ix § 9

² Two sets, one hanging to each of the two links that form the centre joint of the two axles of which the 'flexible' bit consisted. They are found in both the Berlin bits.

πάντα δὲ ὅποσα περιτίθεται περὶ τοὺς ἄξονας,
ἣν εὐρύστομα ἢ καὶ μὴ σύμπυκνα, ὑγρότερα
11 ἔστιν. ἣν δὲ χαλεπῶς ἕκαστα τοῦ χαλινοῦ δια-
τρέχη καὶ συνθέη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σκληρὸν εἶναι.

Ὅποῖος δ' ἂν τις ἦ, τούτῳ τάδε γε πάντα
ταῦτὰ ποιητέον, ἥνπερ γε βούληται ἀποδείξασθαι
12 τὸν ἵππον οἶον περ εἴρηται. ἀνακρουστέον μὲν
τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἄγαν χαλεπῶς ὥστε
ἐκνεύειν, οὔτε ἄγαν ἡσυχῶς ὥς μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι.
ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνακρουόμενος αἶρη τὸν αὐχένα, δοτέον
εὐθύς τὸν χαλινόν. καὶ τὰλλα δὲ δεῖ, ὥσπερ οὐ
παυόμεθα λέγοντες, ἐν ᾧ ἂν καλῶς ὑπηρετῇ,
13 χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ ὅταν δ' αἰσθηται
ἡδόμενον τὸν ἵππον τῇ τε ὑψηλαυχειίᾳ καὶ τῇ
χαλαρότητι, ἐν τούτῳ οὐδὲν δεῖ χαλεπὸν προσ-
φέρειν ὥς πονεῖν ἀναγκάζοντα, ἀλλὰ θωπεύειν
ὥς παύσασθαι βουλόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα
14 θαρρῶν πρόεισιν εἰς τὴν ταχείαν ἵππασίαν. ὥς
δὲ καὶ τῷ ταχὺ θεῖν ἵππος ἡδεταί, τεκμήριον
ἐκφυγῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς βάδην πορεύεται, ἀλλὰ θεῖ.
τούτῳ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡδεσθαι, ἣν μὴ τις πλείω
τοῦ καιροῦ θεῖν ἀναγκάζῃ· ὑπερβάλλον δὲ τὸν
καιρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἡδὺ οὔτε ἵππῳ οὔτε
ἀνθρώπῳ.

15 Ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ ἱππάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ
κυδροῦ ἀφιγμένος ἦ, εἰθισμέιος μὲν δῆπου ἡμῖν
ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἵππασίᾳ ἐκ τῶν στροφῶν εἰς τὸ
θᾶττον ὀρμάσθαι. ἣν δέ τις τοῦτο μεμαθηκότος

¹ Meaning (1) the toothed cylinders, (2) the pendants to which the reins were attached, (3) the curved or S shaped branches with eyes to which the bridle was fastened. It is

and if everything that goes round the axles¹ has large openings, and does not fit tight, it is more flexible "Stiff," on the other hand, means that the 11 pieces of the bit do not run over the axles and work in combination easily

Whatever the pattern may be, the same method of using it must be carried out in all the points that follow, assuming that you want your horse to have just the appearance I have described. The mouth 12 must neither be pulled so hard that he holds his nose in the air, nor so gently that he takes no notice. As soon as he raises his neck when you pull, give him the bit at once. Invariably, in fact, as we cannot too often repeat, you must humour your horse whenever he responds to your wishes. And when 13 you notice that high carriage of his neck and lightness of hand give him pleasure, you should not deal hardly with him as though you were forcing him to work, but coax him as when you want to stop², for thus he will break into a fast pace with most confidence. There is plain proof that a horse 14 takes pleasure in going fast for when he breaks loose a horse never goes at a walking pace, but always runs. He instinctively takes pleasure in this, provided he is not compelled to run too far for his strength. Nothing in excess is ever pleasing either to horse or man.

When your horse has progressed so far as to bear 15 himself proudly when ridden, he has, of course, already been accustomed in the early exercises to break into a quicker pace after turning³. Now if after

curious that we do not know the Greek terms for (2) and (3)

"Let all the parts be loose" is what X means

¹ A has *ἑνδοαξῆαι* "to ride," for *παυσαῖαι* * vii 17

νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὄμματα κατέχει. οἱ
 γοῦν οὔτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαγορεύει
 μενος, ἔστ' ἂν περ ἐπιδεικνύηται τὴν λαμ
 τητα.

10 Ἦν γε μήν ποτε συμβῇ τινι τῶν τοιο
 ῦν ἵππον κεκτημένων ἢ φυλαρχῆσαι ἢ ἱππαρχῇ
 οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦτο σπουδάζειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μ
 λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅπως ἔ

11 τὸ ἐπόμενον ἀξιοθέατον φανείται. ἦν μὲν
 ἡγήται, ὥς μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς τοιού
 ῃς ἵππους, ὅς ἂν ἀνωτάτω αἰρόμενος καὶ πυκνό
 τῳ σώμα βραχύτατον προβαίνει, δῆλον ὅτι
 βάδην ἔπαινον ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἵπποι αὐτῷ. ἐκ
 ταύτης τῆς ὀψευς τί ἂν καὶ λαμπρὸν γένοιτ'

12 ἦν δὲ ἐξεγείρας τὸν ἵππον ἡγή μήτε τῷ ἄ
 τάχει μήτε τῷ ἄγαν βράδει, ὥς δ' εὐθυμότα
 ῖς ἵπποι καὶ γοργότατοι καὶ¹ εὐσχημονέστα
 γίνονται, ἐὰν ἡγή αὐτοῖς οὕτως, ἀθρόος μὲν ἰ
 ὁ τύπος, ἀθρόον δὲ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸ φύση
 τῶν ἵππων συμπαρέποιτο² ὥστε οὐ μόνον αὐτ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ³ συμπαρεπόμενοι ἀξιοθέα
 ῖς ἂν φαίνοντο.

13 Ἦν γε μήν⁴ τις καλῶς ἵππωνήσῃ, τρέφῃ
 ὥς πόνους δύνασθαι ὑποφέρειν, ὀρθῶς δὲ χρῆ
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον μελετήμασι καὶ ἐν τε
 πρὸς ἐπιδείξιν ἵππασίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικ
 ἀγωνίσμασι, τί ἔτι ἐμποδὼν τούτῳ μὴ οἱ
 πλείονός τε ἀξίους ἵππους ποιεῖν ἢ οἷους⁵
 παραλαμβάνῃ, καὶ εὐδοκίμους μὲν ἵππους ἔχε

¹ καὶ Weiske: καὶ ποιεῖν S. with the MSS.

² ἐν, added by Courier, is omitted by S. with the MSS.

³ συμπαρίνοιτο AB: συμπαρίνοιο the other MSS.: S. omi

gaze of all beholders, young and old alike. At all events no one leaves him or is tired of gazing at him so long as he shows off his brilliance.

Should the owner of such a horse happen to 10
be a colonel or a general, he must not make it his
object to be the one brilliant figure,¹ but must attach
much more importance to making the whole troop
behind him worth looking at. Now if a horse is 11
leading in the manner which wins most praise for
such horses, prancing high and with his body
closely gathered, so that he moves forward with
very short steps, the rest of the horses must
obviously follow also at a walking pace. Now what
can there be really brilliant in such a sight? But 12
if you rouse your horse and lead neither too fast nor
too slow, but at the pace at which the most spirited
horses look most fiery and stately—if you lead your
men in that way, there will be such a continual
stamping, such a continual neighing and snorting of
the horses going on behind you, that not only you
yourself but all the troop behind you will be worth
watching.

If a man buys his horses well, trains them so that 13
they can stand work, and uses them properly in the
training for war, in the exhibition rides and on the
battle-fields, what is there then to hinder him from
making horses more valuable than they are when he
takes them over, and why should he not be the
owner of famous horses, and also become famous

¹ *Cavalry Commander*, i. 22

⁴ *oi* A; *εοι* S. with the other MSS

⁵ *μικ* A; *μικ* B; *μικραι* S. with the rest.

⁶ *ε* above A; *ε* of the other MSS; *ε* S.

εὐδοκιμεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἰππικῇ, ἣν μὴ τι δαιμόνιον κωλύῃ;

XII. Γράψαι δὲ βουλόμεθα καὶ ὡς δεῖ ὠπλίσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν φαμὲν χρῆναι τὸν θώρακα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα πεποιῆσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ¹ καλῶς ἀρμόζοντα ὅλον φέρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἄγαν χαλαρὸν οἱ ὦμοι μόνοι φέρουσιν, ὃ γε μὴν λίαν
 2 στενὸς δεσμός, οὐχ ὄπλον ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐχὴν ἐστὶ τῶν καιρίων, φαμὲν χρῆναι καὶ τούτῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θώρακος ὅμοιον τῷ αὐχένι στέγασμα πεποιῆσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἅμα κόσμον τε παρέξει καὶ ἣν οἶον δεῖ εἰργασμένον ἦ, δέξεται
 3 τῆς ῥινός. κράνος γε μὴν κράτιστον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ βοιωτιουργές· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐ στεγάζει μάλιστα πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ θώρακος, ὁρᾶν δὲ οὐ κωλύει. ὁ δ' αὐ θώραξ οὕτως εἰργάσθω, ὡς μὴ κωλύῃ μήτε καθίζειν μήτ' ἐπικύ-
 4 πτειν. περὶ δὲ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κύκλω αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔστω-
 5 σαν, ὥστε στέγειν τὰ βέλη.² ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀριστερὰ χεὶρ ἦν τι πάθη, καταλύει τὸν ἰππέα, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸ εὖρημένον ὄπλον τὴν χεῖρα καλουμένην. τὸν τε γὰρ ὦμον σκεπάζει καὶ τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὸν πῆχυν καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον τῶν ἡνιῶν, καὶ ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ συγκάμπτεται πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ διαλείπον τοῦ θώρακος
 6 ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καλύπτει. τὴν γε μὴν δεξιὰν ἐπαίρειν δεῖ, ἣν τε ἀκοντίσαι ἣν τε πατάξαι

¹ τὸν μὲν γὰρ A : τὸν μὲν the other MSS. : ὅτι τὸν μὲν S.

² βέλη AB : μέλη S. with the rest.

himself for his horsemanship, provided no divine power prevents?

XII We want to explain also how a man who is to face danger on horseback should be armed

We say, then, that in the first place his breastplate must be made to fit his body For the well-fitting breastplate is supported by the whole body, whereas one that is too loose is supported by the shoulders only, and one that is too tight is rather an encumbrance than a defence And, since the neck is one of the vital parts, we hold that a covering should be available for it also, standing up from the breastplate itself and shaped to the neck For this will serve as an ornament, and at the same time, if properly made, will cover the rider's face, when he pleases, as high as the nose For the helmet we consider the Boeotian pattern the most satisfactory for this, again, affords the best protection to all the parts that project above the breastplate without obstructing the sight As for the pattern of the breastplate, it should be so shaped as not to prevent the wearer from sitting down or stooping About the abdomen and middle and round that region let the flaps be of such material and such a size that they will keep out missiles And as a wound in the left hand disables the rider, we also recommend the piece of armour invented for it called the "hand" For it protects the shoulder, the arm, the elbow, and the fingers that hold the reins, it will also extend and fold up, and in addition it covers the gap left by the breastplate under the armpit But the hand must be raised when the man intends to fling

¹ i.e. a gauntlet

βουληθῇ. τοῦ μὲν οἷν θώρακος τὸ κωλύον
ταύτη ἀφαιρετέον· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πτέρυγας ἐν
τοῖς γιγγλῦμοις προσθετέον, ὅπως ὅταν¹ μὲν
διαίρηται, ὁμοίως ἀνατύσσονται, ὅταν δὲ
7 καταίρηται, ἐπικλείωνται. τῷ γε μὴν βραχίονι
τὸ ὥστερ κνημὶς ἀρατιθέμειον βέλτιον² ἡμῖν
δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ συνδεθῆν ὅτλη. τό γε μὴν ψιλού-
μενον αἰρομένης τῆς δεξιᾶς στεγαστέον ἐγγὺς
τοῦ θώρακος ἢ μοσχείῳ ἢ χαλκείῳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν
τῷ ἐπικαιροτάτῳ ἀφύλακτον ἔσται.

8 Ἐπείτερ δὲ ἦν τι τάσχη ὁ ἵππος, ἐν παντὶ
κινδύνῳ καὶ ὁ ἀναβύτης γίγνεται, ὀπλίζειν δεῖ
καὶ τὸν ἵππον προμετωτιδίῳ καὶ τροστεριδίῳ
καὶ παραμηριδίῳ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τῷ ἀμ-
βύτῃ παραμηρίδια γίνονται. ταύτων δὲ μάλιστα
τοῦ ἵππου τὸν κενεῶνα δεῖ σκεπάζει· καιριώ-
τατον γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἀφαιρότατον ἔστι· δυνατὸν δὲ
9 σὺν³ τῷ ἐφιππίῳ καὶ⁴ αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι· χρή δὲ
καὶ τὸ ἔποχον τοιοῦτον ἐρράφθαι, ὥς ἀσφαλέ-
στερόν τε τὸν ἵππεα καθῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ
ἵππου μὴ σίεσθαι.

10 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἵππος καὶ ὁ
ἵππευς ὀπλισμένοι ἂν εἴεν· κνήμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες
ὑπερέχοιεν μὲν ἂν εἰκότως τῶν παραμηριδίων,
ὀπλισθείη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, εἰ ἐμβάδες⁵ γένοιοντο
σκύτους, ἐξ οὐπερ⁶ αἱ κρητῖδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν ἅμα ὅπλον τε κνήμαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδή-
ματ' ἂν εἴη.

¹ πτέρυγας . . . προσθετέον ὅπως ὅταν A πτέρυγες προσ-
θεταί, ὅταν S with the rest He also reads ἀνατύσσονται
and ἐπικλείονται against the MSS

² βέλτιον A· ἀρκεῖν βέλτιον S with the rest.

³ All MSS have σὺν, which S omits

his javelin or strike a blow. Consequently that portion of the breastplate that hinders him in doing that should be removed; and in place of it there should be detachable flaps at the joints, in order that, when the arm is elevated, they may open correspondingly, and may close when it is lowered. For the fore arm it seems to us that the piece put ⁷ over it separately like a greave is better than one that is bound up together with a piece of armour.¹ The part that is left exposed when the right arm is raised should be covered near the breastplate with calf skin or metal, otherwise the most vital part will be unprotected.

Since the rider is seriously imperilled in the event ⁸ of his horse being wounded, the horse also should be armed, having head, chest, and thigh pieces the last also serve to cover the rider's thighs. But above all the horse's belly must be protected, for this, which is the most vital part, is also the weakest. It is possible to make the cloth serve partly as a protection to it. The quilting of the ⁹ cloth should be such as to give the rider a safer seat and not to gall the horse's back.

Thus horse and man alike will be armed in most parts. But the rider's shins and feet will of course ¹⁰ be outside the thigh pieces. These too can be guarded if boots made of shoe leather are worn there will thus be armour for the shins and covering for the feet at the same time.

¹ i.e. with the breastplate. Schneider thought that τφ should be inserted before δπλαφ.

⁴ καὶ AB S omits

⁵ ἐμβαδες A ἐμβάται S with the other MSS

⁶ οὐπερ AB οἴουπερ S with M

- 11 Ὡς μὲν δὴ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων
ταῦτα ὄπλα. ὥς δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους βλάπτειν,
μάχαιραν μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ξίφος ἐπαινοῦμεν· ἐφ'
ὕψηλου γὰρ ὄντι τῷ ἵππῃ κοπίδος μᾶλλον ἢ
12 πληγὴ ἢ ξίφους ἀρκέσει. ἀντί γε μὴν δόρατος
καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν
ἐστι, τὰ κρανείνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν.
καὶ γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι τὸ ἕτερον δυνατόν τῷ ἐπιστα-
μένῳ καὶ τῷ λειπομένῳ οἷον τε χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς
τὸ ἀντίον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τοῦπισθεν¹
καὶ ἅμα ἰσχυρότερα τε τοῦ δόρατος καὶ εὐφορώ-
τερα ἐστίν.
- 13 Ἀκόντισμά γε μὴν τὸ μακρότατον ἐπαινοῦμεν
καὶ γὰρ ἀποστρέψαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν παλτὸν
οὕτω μᾶλλον ὁ χρόνος ἐγχωρεῖ. γράψομεν δὲ
ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ ὥς ἂν τις κράτιστα ἀκοντίζοι. ἦν
γὰρ προβαλλόμενος μὲν τὰ ἀριστερά, ἐπανάγων
δὲ τὰ δεξιὰ, ἐξανιστάμενος δ' ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν,
μικρὸν ἐπανακύπτουσιν τὴν λόγχην ἀφ᾽ ἧς, οὕτω
σφοδρότατόν τε καὶ μακρότατον οἴσεται τὸ
ἀκόντιον, εὐστοχώτατον μέντοι, εἰὰν κατὰ τὸν
σκοπὸν ἀφιεμένη αἰεὶ ὁρᾷ ἢ λόγχῃ.
- 14 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτῃ καὶ ὑπομνήματα καὶ
μαθήματα καὶ μελετήματα γεγράφθω ἡμῖν. αἱ
δὲ ἱππάρχω προσῆκεν εἰδέναι τε καὶ πράττειν,
ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

¹ τοῦπισθεν A : τοῦμπροσθεν S. with the other MSS.

These are the defensive arms which with the 11
 gracious assistance of heaven will afford protection
 from harm. For harming the enemy we recom-
 mend the sabre¹ rather than the sword, because,
 owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut
 with the Persian sabre more efficacious than the
 thrust with the sword. And, in place of the spear 12
 with a long shaft, seeing that it is both weak and
 awkward to manage, we recommend rather the
 two Persian javelins of cornel wood. For the skilful
 man may throw the one and can use the other in
 front or on either side or behind. They are also
 stronger than the spear and easier to manage.²

We recommend throwing the javelin at the longest 13
 range possible. For this gives a man more time to
 turn his horse and to grasp the other javelin. We
 will also state in a few words the most effective way
 of throwing the javelin. If a man, in the act of
 advancing his left side, drawing back his right, and
 rising from his thighs, discharges the javelin with its
 point a little upwards, he will give his weapon the
 strongest impetus and the furthest carrying power,
 it will be most likely to hit the mark, however, if at
 the moment of discharge the point is always set on
 it.

These notes, instructions and exercises which we 14
 have here set down are intended only for the private
 person. What it belongs to a cavalry leader to know
 and to do has been set forth in another book.

¹ The sabre (μάχα ρα) was used in the Lacédæmonian and
 the Persian army. *κοπίς* is the special term for the Persian
 weapon.

² The two Persian javelins were shorter than the Greek
 spear.

ON HUNTING

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΟΣ

1. Τὸ μὲν εὖρημα θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέ-
 μιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες· ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν
 2 τούτῳ Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιοσύνην. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν
 ἐχάριεν τῷ δώρῳ καὶ ἐχρήσθη· καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ
 μαθηταὶ κυνηγεσίῳν τε καὶ ἐτέρων καλῶν Κέφα-
 λος, Ἀσκληπιός, Μειλανίων, Νέστωρ, Ἀμφιά-
 ραος, Πηλεὺς, Τελαμών, Μελέαγρος, Θησεύς,
 Ἰππόλυτος, Παλαμήδης, Ὀδυσσεύς, Μενεσθεύς,
 Διομήδης, Κίστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Μαχάων, Ποδα-
 λείριος, Ἀντίλοχος, Λινείας, Ἀχιλλεύς· ὧν κατὰ
 3 χρόνον ἕκαστος ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτιμήθη. θαυμάζετω
 δὲ μηδεὶς, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀρέσκοντες θεοῖς
 ὅμως ἐτελεύτησαν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις· ἀλλ'
 οἱ ἔπαινοι αὐτῶν μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο· μηδὲ ὅτι οὐ
 καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἡλικίαι πᾶσι τούτοις.¹ ὁ γὰρ Χείρω-
 4 νος βίος πᾶσιν ἐξήρκει. Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Χείρων
 ἀδελφοὶ πατρὸς μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ ὁ μὲν
 Ῥέας, ὁ δὲ Ναΐδος νύμφης· ὥστε ἐγεγόνει μὲν
 πρότερος τούτων, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὕστερος ἐπεὶ²
 Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπαίδευσεν.
- 5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς³ τῶν κυνῶν
 καὶ κυνηγεσίῳν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας πολὺ
 διενεγκόντες κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐθαυμάσθησαν.

¹ πᾶσι τούτοις A: S. omits with the rest.

² ὕστερος ἐπεὶ A: ὕστερον ἢ ὡς S. with M.

ON HUNTING

I. **GAMF** and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness. And he, receiving it, rejoiced in the gift, and used it. And he had for pupils in venery and in other noble 2 pursuits—Cephalus, Asclepius, Meilamon, Nestor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomedes, Cistor, Polydeuces, Machaon, Podileirius, Antilochus, Aeneas, Achilles, of whom each in his time was honoured by gods. Let no man marvel that 3 the more part of these, even though they pleased gods, died none the less, for that was nature's work, but the praise of them grew mightily,—nor yet that not all of these flourished at one time. For Cheiron's lifetime sufficed for all. For Zeus and Cheiron were 4 brethren, sons of one sire, but the mother of the one was Rhea, of the other the nymph Nais: and so, though he was born before these, he died after them, for he taught Achilles.

Through the heed they paid to hounds and 5 hunting and the rest of their scholarship they excelled greatly and were admired for their virtue.

• τῆς Schneider τῆς δ' S with the MSS

- 6 Κέφαλος μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεᾶς ἠρπάσθη, Ἀσκληπιὸς
δὲ μειζόνων ἔτυχεν, ἀνιστάναί μὲν τεθνεώτας,
νοσοῦντας δὲ ἰᾶσθαι· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεὸς ὥς παρ'
7 ἀνθρώποις αἰέμνηστον κλέος ἔχει. Μειλανίων δὲ
τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχε φιλοπονίᾳ, ὥστε ὦν αὐτῷ
ἀντερασταὶ ἐγείοντο οἱ τότε¹ ἄριστοι τῶν τότε
μεγίστων γάμων μόνος ἔτυχεν Ἀταλάντης
Νέστορος δὲ προδιελήλυθεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
8 τὰς ἀκοάς, ὥστε εἰδόσιν ἂν λέγοιμι. Ἀμφιάραος
δὲ ὅτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐστράτευσε, πλείστον κτησόμενος
ἔπαινον ἔτυχε παρὰ θεῶν αἰείζως² τιμᾶσθαι.
Πηλεὺς δ' ἐπιθυμίαν παρέσχε καὶ θεοῖς δοῦναι αἰ τε
Θέτιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν γὰ
9 Τελαμῶν δὲ τοσοῦτος ἐ
τῆς μεγίστης ἦν αὐτός
τὴν Ἀλκίθου ὅτε δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἐδίδου τὰ ἀριστεῖα Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Διὸς, ἐλὼν
10 Τροίαν, Ἡσιόνην αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν. Μελέαγρος δὲ
τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἅς ἔλαβε φαιεραί· πατὴρ δ' ἐν
γῆρᾳ ἐπιλαιομένην τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ αὐτοῦ
αἰτίαις ἐδυστύχησε. Θησεὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἐχθροὺς πάσης μοίᾳς ἀπώλεσε· τὴν δ'
αἰτοῦ πατρίδα πολλῷ μείζω ποιήσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν
11 θαυμάζεται. Ἰππόλυτος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀρτέ
μιδος ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἐν λόγοις ἦν, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ
ὁσιότητι μικαρισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. Παλαμήδης
δὲ ὥς μὲν ἵν, πολὺ τῶν ἐξ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερέσχε
σοφίᾳ, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ αἰδέως τοσαύτης ἔτυχε
τιμῶν, ἵασι ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὕσης οἰκτεῖς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων

¹ Τὴν ἀνέσχετο τὴν ἀνέσχετο

² Ἀνέσχετο τὴν ἀνέσχετο τὴν ἀνέσχετο

Cephalus was carried away by a goddess¹ Asclepius⁶ won yet² greater preferment—to raise the dead, to heal the sick, and for these things he has everlasting fame as a god among men Meilaniion was so peerless⁷ in love of toil that, though the princeiest of that age were his rival suitors for the greatest Lady of the time, only he won Atalanta Nestor's virtue is an old familiar tale to Greek ears, so there is no need for me to tell of it Amphiarus when he fought⁸ against Thebes, gained great praise and won from the gods the honour of immortality Peleus stirred a desire even in the gods to give him Thetis and to hymn their marriage in Cheiron's home Telamon⁹ waxed so mighty that he wedded from the greatest city the maiden of his choice, Periboea, daughter of Alcathus and when the first of the Greeks, Heracles son of Zeus, distributed the prizes of valour after taking Troy, to him he gave Hesione As for¹⁰ Meleager, the honours that he won are manifest, and it was not by his own fault that he came to sorrow when his father in old age forgot the goddess³ Theseus single handed slew the enemies of all Greece, and because he enlarged greatly the borders of his country he is admired to this day Hippolytus¹¹ was honoured by Artemis and held converse with her, and for his prudence and holiness he was counted happy when he died Palamedes far outstripped the men of his generation in wisdom while he lived, and being unjustly slain he won from the gods such vengeance as fell to the lot of no other

¹ Aurora

² The καὶ before οὐδ in the text should probably be placed before με δὲ

³ i.e. when his father Oeneus forgot Artemis—a laps which led ultimately to the death of Meleager

- ἔτελεύτησε δὲ οὐχ ὑφ' ὧν οἴονται τινες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 ἦν ὁ μὲν σχεδόν τι ἄριστος, ὁ δὲ ὅμοιος ἀγαθοῖς·
 12 κακοὶ δὲ ἔπραξαν τὸ ἔργον. Μενεσθεὺς δὲ ἐκ
 τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς¹ τῶν κυνηγεσίῳ τοσοῦτον
 ὑπερέβαλε φιλοπονία, ὥστε ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων πρῶτους ὑστέρους εἶναι τὰ εἰς τὸν
 πόλεμον ἐκείνου πλὴν Νέστορος· καὶ οὗτος οὐ
 13 προέχειν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἐρίζειν. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ
 καὶ Διομήδης λαμπροὶ μὲν καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον,
 τὸ δὲ ὅλον αἵτιοι Τροίαν ἀλῶναι. Κάστωρ δὲ
 καὶ Πολυδεύκης ὅσα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 τῶν παρὰ Χείρωνος διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκ τούτων
 14 ἀθάνατοί εἰσι. Μαχάων δὲ καὶ Ποδαλείριος
 παιδευθέντες τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο καὶ τέχιας
 καὶ λόγους καὶ πολέμους ἀγαθοί. Ἀντίλοχος
 δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανῶν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν
 εὐκλείας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς
 15 Ἑλλησιν ἀναγαρευθῆναι. Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν
 τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεούς, σώσας δὲ καὶ
 αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο,
 ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἐκράτησαν
 16 ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι. Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ἐν
 ταύτῃ τῇ παιδεῖᾳ τραφεὶς οὕτω καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
 μνημεῖα παρέδωκεν, ὥστε οὔτε λέγων οὔτε ἀκούων
 17 οὔτοι τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς

¹ τῆς Schneider: τῆς de S. with the MSS.

¹ Odysseus and Diomedes, who, according to one account, drowned Palamedes when he was fishing. The reference here may be to this version. In *Memorabilia* iv. ii. 4 X. follows the commoner version that Odysseus got P. put to

mortal But his end was not compassed by those¹
 whom some imagine, else could not the one of them
 have been well nigh the best, and the other the peer
 of the good, but bad men did the deed Menestheus 12
 through the heed he paid to hunting, so far surpassed
 others in love of toil that the first of the Greeks con-
 fessed themselves his inferiors in feats of war, all save
 Nestor, and he, it is said,² outdid not, but rivalled
 him Odysseus and Diomedes were brilliant in 13
 every single deed, and in short, to them was due the
 capture of Troy Castor and Polydeuces, through
 the renown that they won by displaying in Greece
 the arts they learned of Cheiron, are immortal
 Machaon and Podaleirius, schooled in all the self 14
 same arts, proved in crafts and reasonings and wars
 good men Antilochus, by giving his life for his
 father,³ won such glory that he alone was proclaimed
 among the Greeks as "the Devoted Son" Aeneas 15
 saved the gods of his father's and his mother's family,
 and withal his father himself, wherefore he bore
 away fame for his piety, so that to him alone among
 all the vanquished at Troy even the enemy granted
 not to be despoiled Achilles, nursed in this school 16
 ing, bequeathed to posterity memorials so great and
 glorious that no man wearies of telling and hearing
 of him

These, whom the good love even to this day and 17

death by a false charge of treachery, and in the *Odysses*
 attributed to the rhetorician Alcidas Diomedes and
 Stenelus are associated with Odysseus in bringing this
 charge In revenge for his death his father Nauplius caused
 the shipwreck of the Greek fleet off the south of Euboea.

¹ In *Ilad* ii 55.

² How Antilochus, son of Nestor, saved his father's life is
 told by Pindar in the sixth *Pythion*.

παρὰ Χείρωνος, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ φθονοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εἴ τῳ συμφοραὶ ἐγίγνοντο ἢ πόλει ἢ βασιλεῖ, ἐλύοντο δι' ¹ αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πάντας πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι νεῖκος ἢ πόλεμος, διὰ τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκράτουν, ὥστε ἀνίκητον τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν.

- 18 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσίῳ μὴδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γίγνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίῳ τὸν ἤδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλλάττοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα σκεψάμενον τὴν οὐσίαν· ὧ μὲν ἔστιν ἱκανή, ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας, ὧ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὴν γε προθυμίαν παρεχέσθω μὴδὲν ἐλλείπων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως.

- 2 "Οσα δὲ καὶ οἷα δεῖ παρσκευασμένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτό, φράσω καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκάστου, ἵνα προειδῶς ἐγχερῇ τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ μὴδεὶς αὐτὰ φαῦλα νομισάτω εἶναι· ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτων οὐκ ἂν εἴη πρᾶξις.

- 3 Χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀρकुωρὸν εἶναι ἐπιθυμοῦντα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν φωνὴν Ἕλληνα, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν περὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐλαφρόν, ἰσχυρόν, ψυχὴν δὲ ἱκανόν, ἵνα τῶν πόνων τούτοις κρατῶν
4 χαίρῃ τῷ ἔργῳ. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς Φασιανοῦ ἢ Καρ-

¹ S. omits δι' with the better MSS.

the evil envy, were made so perfect through the care they learned of Cheiron that, when troubles fell upon any state or any king in Greece, they were composed through their influence; or if all Greece was at strife or at war with all the Barbarian powers, these brought victory to the Greeks, so that they made Greece invincible.

Therefore I charge the young not to despise 18 hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.

II. The first pursuit, therefore, that a young man just out of his boyhood should take up is hunting, and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has means. He must look to his means, and, if they are sufficient, spend as much as the benefit to himself is worth; or, if they are insufficient, at least let him supply enthusiasm, in no way coming short of his power.¹

I will give a list and a description of the intending 2 hunter's outfit, and the explanation of each item, in order that he may understand the business before he puts his hand to it. And let no one regard these details as trivial; inasmuch as nothing can be done without them.

The net-keeper should be a man with a keen 3 interest in the business, one who speaks Greek, about twenty years old, agile and strong, and resolute, that, being well qualified to overcome his tasks, he may take pleasure in the business. The purse-nets should 4

¹ The text of this paragraph is open to suspicion. The words from *εἰτα* to *ἔχοντα* may be an afterthought.

be made of fine Phasian¹ or Carthaginian flax, and the road nets and h̄yes of the same material.

Let the purse-nets be of nine threads woven in three strands, each strand consisting of three threads. The proper length for these nets is forty five inches, the proper width of the meshes six inches. The cords that run round² them must be without knots, so that they may run easily. The road-nets should³ be of twelve threads, and the h̄yes of sixteen. The length of the road nets may be twelve, twenty-four or thirty-feet, that of the h̄yes sixty, a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and eighty feet. If they are longer, they will be unwieldy. Both kinds should be thirty knots⁴ high, and should have meshes of the same width as those of the purse-nets. At the elbows⁵ at either end let the road-nets have slip knots of string and the h̄yes metal rings,⁶ and let the cords⁷ be attached by loops. The stakes for the⁸ purse nets should be thirty inches long, but some should be shorter. Those of unequal length are for use on sloping ground, to make the height of the nets equal, while those of the same length are used on the level. These stakes must be so shaped at the top that the nets will pull off readily and they must be smooth.⁹ The stakes for the road nets

¹ The rings running down the two sides were used for joining two nets together.

² i.e. the cords running along the top and bottom of the nets.

³ The author means, I think, to imply a contrast between the stakes of the purse nets and those of the other nets. The second αἵρας in the text can scarcely be right. Possibly καὶ αἵρας αἵρας should be omitted, or αἵρας, "they themselves," read with Dindorf.

σiai, αἱ δὲ τῶν δικτύων τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεσπί-
θαμοι, δικρᾶ ἔχουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντμήματα μὴ
βαθεία· εὐπαγεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μὴ ἀσύμμετροι τὰ
8 πᾶχῃ πρὸς τὰ μήκη. τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν σχαλίδων
οἷόν τέ ἐστι χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ δίκτυα πολλῶ καὶ
ὀλίγῳ· ἐλάττωσι μὲν, ἂν σφόδρα τείνηται ἐν τῇ
9 στάσει· πλέονι δ', ἂν ἡσυχῇ. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐν
ὧτῳ ἔσονται αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα¹
κυνούχος μόσχειος καὶ τὰ δρέπανα, ἵνα ἡ τῆς
ὕλης τέμνοντα φράττειν τὰ δεόμενα.

III. Τὰ δὲ γένη τῶν κυνῶν ἐστὶ διττά, αἱ μὲν
γὰρ καστόριαι, αἱ δὲ ἄλωπεκίδες. ἔχουσι δ' αἱ
μὲν καστόριαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὅτι Κάστωρ
ἦσθεις τῷ ἔργῳ μάλιστα αὐτὰς διεφύλαξεν· αἱ δ'
ἄλωπεκίδες, διότι ἐκ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἄλωπέκων
ἐγένοντο· ἐν πολλῶ δὲ χρόνῳ συγκέκραται αὐτῶν
2 ἡ φύσις. χείρους δὲ καὶ πλείους αἱ τοιαίδε,
μικραί, γρυπαί, χαροποί, μυωποί, ἄμορφοι,²
σκληραί, ἀσθενεῖς, ψιλαί, ὑψηλαί, ἀσύμμετροι,
3 ἄψυχοι, ἄρρινες, οὐκ εὐποδες. αἱ μὲν οὖν μικραὶ
πολλάκις³ ἀποστεροῦνται τῆς ἐργασίας διὰ τὸ
μικρόν· αἱ δὲ γρυπαὶ ἄστομοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ
κατέχουσι τὸν λαγῶ· χαροποὶ⁴ δὲ καὶ μυωποὶ
χείρῳ τὰ ὄμματα ἔχουσιν, ἄμορφοι δὲ καὶ αἰσχροὶ
ὀρᾶσθαι· αἱ δὲ σκληραὶ τὰ εἶδη χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ
τῶν κυνηγεσίων ἀπαλλάττουσι· πονεῖν δὲ ἀδύ-
νατοι αἱ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ αἱ ψιλαί· καὶ αἱ ὑψηλαὶ
μὲν καὶ ἀσύμμετροι ἀσύντακτα ἔχουσαι τὰ

¹ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα A: τὰ δίκτυα ἐν ἑκατέροις S. with the rest.

² ἄμορφοι Rühl: ἀσχαλ MSS: S omits.

³ S adds ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίων omitted in AB.

⁴ μυωποὶ δὲ καὶ χαροποὶ S. with BM.

should be twice the length of these, and those for the hayes forty-five inches long. The latter¹ should have little forks with shallow grooves, and all should be stout, of a thickness proportioned to the length. The number of stakes used for the 8 hayes may be large or small, fewer are required if the nets are strained tight when set up, more if they are slack. A calf skin bag will be wanted for carry 9 ing the purse-nets and road nets and hayes and the bill-hooks for cutting wood and stopping gaps where necessary.

III The hounds used are of two kinds, the Castorian and the Vulpine². The Castorian is so called because Castor paid special attention to the breed, making a hobby of the business. The Vulpine is a hybrid between the dog and the fox: hence the name. In the course of time the nature of the parents has become fused. Inferior specimens (that 2 is to say, the majority) show one or more of the following defects. They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet. Now small dogs often drop out 3 of the running through their want of size, hook-nosed dogs have no mouth and can't hold the hare, grey-eyed dogs and blinkers have bad sight, ungainly dogs look ugly, stiff ones are in a bad way at the end of the hunt, no work can be got out of the weak and the thin-coated ones; those that are lanky and ill proportioned are heavy movers and carry them-

¹ Or perhaps he means *both* sets

² Both are Laconian varieties, the Castorian being much the larger. The Vulpine resembled a fox; hence the erroneous idea that it was a hybrid between dog and fox (O Keller, *die antike Tierwelt*, i 121)

σώματα βαρέως διαφοιτῶσιν· αἱ ἄψυχοι δὲ λεί-
πουσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς
σκιάς καὶ κατακλίνονται· αἱ δὲ ἄρρινοι μόλις
καὶ ὀλιγάκις αἰσθάνονται τοῦ λαγῶ· αἱ δὲ ἄποδες
οὐδ' ἐὰν ὥσιν εὐψυχοι, τοὺς πόρους δύνανται
ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν
ποδῶν.

- 4 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰχνεύσεως πολλοὶ τρόποι ἐκ
τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐτειδὰν λάβωσι τὰ
ἵχνη, πορεύονται ἀσήμεως, ὥστε μὴ γινώσκεσθαι
ὅτι ἰχνεύουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὦτα μόνον διακινοῦσι,
τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἡσυχῇ ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὦτα μὲν
ἀκίνητα ἔχουσιν, ἄκρα δὲ τῇ οὐρᾷ σείουσιν.
- 5 ἄλλαι δὲ συνάγουσι τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐπισκυθρο-
πάσασαι διὰ τοῦ ἵχνους σχάσασαι τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ
φράξασαι διατρέχουσι· πολλὰ δὲ τούτων μὲν
οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι, μανικῶς δὲ περιφερόμεναι ὑλα-
κτοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἵχνη, ὅτε δὲ ¹ εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς
αὐτά, ἀφρόνως καταπατοῦσαι τὰς αἰσθήσεις.
- 6 εἰσὶ δ' αἱ κύκλοις πολλοῖς χρώμεναι καὶ πλάνοις
ὑπολαμβάνουσαι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσω ² τὰ ἵχνη παρα-
λείπουσι τὸν λαγῶ, ὅσάκις δ' ἐπιτρέχουσι τὰ
ἵχνη, εἰκάζουσι, προορώμεναι δὲ τὸν λαγῶ τρέ-
μουνσι καὶ οὐκ ἐπέρχονται, πρὶν ἰδῶσιν ὑποκι-
νῶντα.
- 7 ὅσαι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κυνῶν εὐρήματα
ἐν ταῖς ἰχνεῖαις καὶ μεταδρομαῖς προθέουσι θαμινὰ
σκοποῦσαι, ἐαυταῖς ἀπίστως ἔχουσι· θρασεῖαι δ'
αἱ οὐκ ἐῷσι τῶν συνεργῶν τὰς σοφὰς εἰς τὸ
πρόσθεν προϊέναι, ἀλλ' ἀνείργουσι θορυβοῦσαι·
αἱ δὲ ἀσπαζόμεναι τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ ὑπερλαμπρ-
νόμεναι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν τύχωσι προάγουσι συνειδυῖαι

¹ δὲ is omitted by S. with M.

selves anyhow; cowards leave their work and give up and slink away from the sun into shady places and lie down; dogs with no nose seldom scent the hare and only with difficulty, and those with bad feet, even if they are plucky, can't stand the hard work, and tire because they are foot sore.

Moreover, hounds of the same breed vary much 4 in behaviour when tracking. Some go ahead as soon as they find the line without giving a sign, and there is nothing to show that they are on it. Some move the ears only, but keep the tail still; others keep the ears still and wag the tip of the tail. Others prick up the ears¹ and run frowning along 5 the track, dropping their tails and putting them between their legs. Many do none of these things, but rush about madly round the track, and when they happen upon it, stupidly trample out the traces, barking all the time. Others again, continually circling 6 and straying, get ahead of the line when clean off it and pass the hare, and every time they run against the line, begin guessing, and if they catch sight of the hare, tremble and never go for her until they see her stir. Hounds that run forward and frequently 7 examine the discoveries of the others when they are casting about and pursuing have no confidence in themselves; while those that will not let their cleverer mates go forward, but fuss and keep them back, are confident to a fault. Others will drive ahead, eagerly following false lines and getting wildly excited over anything that turns up, well know-

¹ The Greek hound had short ears (cf. c. iv. 1) like a fox-terrier

² *ὑποσθεν* S with M

- ἑαυταῖς ὅτι ἑξαπατῶσιν· αἱ δ' οὐκ εἰδυῖαι τὸ αὐτὸ
 ποιοῦσι ταύταις· φαῦλαι δὲ αἱ οὐκ ἀπαλλα-
 τόμεναι ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν τὰ ὀρθὰ οὐ γιγνώσκουσαι.
 8 ὅσαι δὲ τῶν κυνῶν τὰ ἵχνη τὰ μὲν εὐναῖα
 ἀγνοοῦσι, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, οὐκ
 εἰσὶ γνήσιαι· διώκουσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχόμεναι
 σφόδρα, διὰ δὲ μαλακίαν ἀνιᾶσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπο-
 θέουσιν, εἴτα ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἕτεραι δὲ ἀνοήτως
 ἐμπίπτουσαι εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀμαρτάνουσι τὸ
 9 ἀνήκουστον πολὺ ἔχουσαι. πολλαὶ δὲ τὰ διώγ-
 ματα ἀφιεῖσαι ἐπανερχονται διὰ τὸ μισόθηρον,
 πολλαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν
 ἱχνῶν κεκλαγγυῖαι ἑξαπατᾶν πειρῶνται ἀληθῆ
 10 τὰ ψευδῆ ποιούμεναι. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ
 ποιοῦσι, μεταξὺ δὲ θέουσαι ἂν ποθεν ἀκούσωσι
 κραυγῆς, καταλείπουσαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα ἀπρο-
 νοήτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται· μεταθέουσι γὰρ αἱ
 μὲν ἀσαφῶς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι,
 δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἐτέρως.¹ αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως,
 φθονερῶς δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκκυνοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἵχνος διὰ
 τέλους συμπεριφερόμεναι.
 11 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τούτων φύσει ἔχουσι,² τὰ
 δὲ ἡγμέναι ἀνεπιστημόνως δύσχρηστοί εἰσιν· αἱ
 τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν κύνες ἀποτρέψειαν ἂν τοὺς
 ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίῳ. οἷας δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ γένους τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, φράσω.
- IV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ εἶναι μεγάλας, εἴτα
 ἐχούσας τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐλαφράς, σιμάς, ἄρθρώδεις,
 ἰνώδη τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν μετώπων, ὄμματα μετέωρα,
 μέλανα, λαμπρά, μέτωπα μεγάλα καὶ πλατέα,

¹ ἐτέρως A : ἕτερα S. with BM.

² ἔχουσαι S. with M.

ing that they are playing the fool; others will do the same thing in ignorance. Those that stick to game paths and don't recognise the true line are poor tools. A hound that ignores the trail¹ and races over the track of the hare on the run is ill bred. Some, again, will pursue hotly at first, and then slack off from want of pluck, others will cut in ahead and then get astray, while others foolishly dash into roads and go astray, deaf to all recall. Many abandon the pursuit and go back through their hatred of game, and many through their love of man. Others try to mislead by baying on the track, representing false lines as true ones. Some, though free from this fault, leave their own work when they hear a shout from another quarter while they are running, and make for it recklessly. When pursuing some are dubious, others are full of assumptions but their notions are wrong. Then there are the skitters, some of whom merely pretend to hunt, while others out of jealousy perpetually scamper about together beside the line.

Now most of these faults are natural defects, but some by which hounds are spoilt are due to unintelligent training. Anyhow such hounds may well put a keen hunter off the sport. What hounds of the same breed² ought to look like and what they should be in other respects I will now explain.

IV First, then, they should be big. Next, the head should be light, flat³ and muscular, the lower parts of the forehead sinewy, the eyes prominent, black and sparkling, the forehead broad, with a

¹ 'The trail of the hare is the path she takes in going to her seat. —Beckford

² The author's ideal harrier is clearly the Castorian

³ In profile

- τὰς διακρίσεις βαθείας, ὦτα μικρά,¹ λεπτά, ψιλὰ ὀπισθεν, τραχήλους μακροὺς, ὑγροὺς, περιφερεῖς, στήθη πλατεῖα, μὴ ἄσαρκα, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων τὰς ὠμοπλῦτας διεστῶσας μικρόν, σκέλη τὰ πρόσθια μικρά, ὀρθά, στρογγύλα, στιφρά, τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ὀρθοὺς, πλευρὰς μὴ ἐπὶ γῆν² βαθείας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρηκούσας, ὁσφύς σαρκώδεις, τὰ μεγέθη μεταξὺ μακρῶν καὶ βραχέων, μητε ὑγρὰς λίαν μήτε σκληράς, λαγόνας μεταξὺ μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν, ἰσχία στρογγύλα, ὀπισθεν σαρκώδη, ἄνωθεν δὲ μὴ συνδεδεμένα, ἔνδοθεν δὲ προσεσταλμένα, τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν κενεῶνων λαγαρά καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κενεῶνας, οὐρὰς μακράς, ὀρθίς, λιγυράς, μηριαίας σκληράς, ὑποκώλια μακρά, περιφερῆ, εὐπαγῆ, σκέλη πολὺ μείζω τὰ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐπίρρικνα,
- 2 πόδας περιφερεῖς. καὶ ἐὰν ὥσι τοιαῦται αἱ κύνες, ἔσονται ἰσχυραὶ τὰ εἶδη, ἐλαφραί, σύμμετροι, ποδώκεις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων φαιδραὶ καὶ εὖστομοι.
- 3 Ἰχθυεύεωσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν τριμῶν ταχὺ ἀπαλλαττόμεναι, τιθεῖσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ γῆν λεχρίας, ἐμμειδιῶσαι μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἰχνη, ἐπικαταβάλλουσαι δὲ τὰ ὦτα, καὶ³ τὰ μὲν ὄμματα πυκνὰ διακινεῖν, ταῖς δὲ οὐραῖς διασαίνουσαι, κύκλους πολλοὺς πρὸς τὰς εὐνάς προίττωσαν ὁμοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἰχθους
- 4 ἅπασαι. ὅταν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσι τὸν λαγῶ,

¹ μακρά S, a wrong conjecture

² ἐπὶ γῆν AB ἐπίπαν S with M

³ καὶ A: S omits with the rest.

¹ i.e. not bent inwards or outwards.

deep dividing line; the ears small and thin with little hair behind; the neck long, loose and round; the chest broad and fairly fleshy, the shoulder-blades slightly outstanding from the shoulders; the fore-legs short, straight, round and firm; the elbows straight¹; the ribs not low down on the ground,² but sloping in an oblique line, the loins fleshy, of medium length, and neither too loose nor too hard, the flanks of medium size; the hips round and fleshy at the back, not close at the top, and smooth on the inside³; the under part of the belly and the belly itself

6

longer than the fore-legs and slightly bent, the feet round. Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth.

When tracking they should get out of the game paths quickly, hold their heads well down and aslant, smiling when they find the scent and lowering their ears; then they should all go forward together along the trail towards the form circling frequently,⁴ with eyes continually on the move and tails wagging. As soon as they are close on the hare,

¹ So Pollux read, for he says *μη πρὸς τὴν γῆν βαθυνομενας*. The sense is then that the ribs are not to be low on the ground when the hound is couchant, but well tucked up. ' ' would apply to ng would be that

² *ε* without folds in the coat towards the loins

³ From the elbows to the feet

⁴ A participle to govern *κύκλους πολλούς* has dropped out of the text

δῆλον ποιείτωσαν τῷ κυνηγέτῃ θάπτον φοιτῶσαι, μᾶλλον γνωρίζουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλλάξεως τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβλεμμάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ἀναστρεμμάτων¹ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς καθέδρας τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διαρριμμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς ἤδη αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφαίρειν, ὅτι τοῦ λαγῶ ἐγγύς εἰσι.

5 Διωκέτωσαν δὲ ἐρρωμένως καὶ μὴ ἐπανιείσαι σὺν πολλῇ κλαγγῇ καὶ ὕλαγμῳ, συνεκπερῶσαι μετὰ τοῦ λαγῶ πάντῃ· μεταθείτωσαν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ λαμπρῶς, πυκνὰ μεταφερόμεναι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως· πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγέτην μὴ ἐπανίτωσαν λιποῦσαι τὰ ἔχνη.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου εὐψυχοὶ ἔστωσαν καὶ εὕρινες καὶ εὐποδες² καὶ εὐτριχες. εὐψυχοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔσονται, εἴαν μὴ λίπωσι τὰ κυνηγέσια, ὅταν ἡ πνίγη· εὕρινες δέ, εἴαν τοῦ λαγῶ ὀσφραίνωνται ἐν τόποις ψιλοῖς, ξηροῖς, προσηλίοις τοῦ ἄστρου ἐπιόντος· εὐποδες δέ, εἴαν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ μὴ καταρρηγνύωνται αὐτῶν οἱ πόδες τὰ ὄρη θεουσῶν· εὐτριχες δέ, εἴαν ἔχωσι λεπτὴν

7 καὶ πυκνὴν καὶ μαλακὴν τὴν τρίχα. τὰ δὲ χρώματα οὐ χρὴ εἶναι τῶν κυνῶν οὔτε πυρρὰ οὔτε μέλανα οὔτε λευκὰ παντελῶς· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ γενναῖον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ³ ἀπλοῦν καὶ θηριῶδες.

8 αἱ μὲν οὖν πυρραὶ ἔχουσαι ἔστωσαν λευκὴν τρίχα ἐπανθοῦσαν περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ αἱ μέλαιναι, αἱ

¹ eis . . ἀναστρεμμάτων is omitted by S.

they should let the huntsman know, quickening the pace and showing more emphatic signs by their excitement, movements of the head and eyes, changes of attitude, by looking up and looking into the covert and returning again and again to the hare's form, by leaps forward, backward and to the side, displays of unaffected agitation and overpowering delight at being near the hare

They should pursue with unremitting vigour, giving tongue and barking freely, dogging the hare's steps wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase, frequently casting about and giving tongue in the right fashion, and they should not leave the track and go back to the huntsman

Along with this appearance and behaviour they should have pluck, keen noses, sound feet and good coats. They will be plucky if they don't leave the hunting ground when the heat is oppressive, keen nosed if they smell the hare on bare, parched and sunny ground in the dog days¹, sound in the feet if at the same season their feet are not torn to bits during a run in the mountains, they will have a good coat if the fur is fine, thick and soft. The colour of the hounds should not be entirely tawny, black or white, for this is not a sign of good breeding on the contrary, unbroken colour indicates a wild strain. So the tawny and the black hounds should show a patch of white about the

¹ The older commentators are probably right in understanding the allusion to be to the Dog star not to the Sun

² εσφορ καὶ εὐνοδία A εὐνοδία καὶ εὐρεῖ S with the rest

³ ἀλλὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον ἀλλ S with the MSS.

δὲ λευκαὶ πυρραῖν· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς μηριαίαις ἄκραις
τρίχας ὀρθάς, βαθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀσφύσι καὶ
ταῖς οὐραῖς κύττω, ἄνωθεν δὲ μετρίας.

Ἄγειν δὲ ἄμεινον τὰς κύνας εἰς τὰ ὄρη πολ-
λάκις, τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἡττον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄρη οἷόν τ'
ἐστὶ καὶ ἰχνεύειν καὶ μεταθεῖν καθαρῶς, τὰ δὲ
ἔργα οὐδέτερα διὰ τοὺς τριμμούς· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ
ἄνευ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὸν λαγῶ ἁγαθὸν ἄγειν τὰς
κύνας εἰς τὰ τραχέα· καὶ γὰρ εὐποδες γίνονται
καὶ τὰ σώματα διαπονοῦσαι ἐν τόποις τοιούτοις
ὠφελοῦνται. ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ θέρους μὲν μέχρι
μεσημβρίας, χειμῶνος δὲ δι' ἡμέρας, μετοπώρου
δ' ἔξω μεσημβρίας, ἐντὸς δ' ἐσπέρας τὸ ἔαρ. ταῦτα
γὰρ μέτρια.

V. Τὰ δὲ ἰχνη τοῦ λαγῶ τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος μακρά
ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν νυκτῶν, τοῦ δὲ θέρους
βραχέα διὰ τὸ ἐναντίον. χειμῶνος μὲν οὖν πρῶτ'
οὐκ ὄξει αὐτῶν, ὅταν πάχνη ἢ ἡ παγετός· ἡ μὲν
γὰρ πάχνη τῇ αὐτῆς ἰσχύϊ ἀντισπάσασα τὸ θερ-
μὸν ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ παγετὸς ἐπιπήξας. καὶ αἱ
κύνες μαλκιῶσαι τὰς ῥῖνας οὐ δύνανται αἰσθά-
νεσθαι, ὅταν ἢ τοιαῦτα, πρὶν ἂν ὁ ἥλιος διαλύσῃ
αὐτὰ ἢ προϊῶσα ἡ ἡμέρα· τότε δὲ καὶ αἱ
κύνες ὀσφραίνονται καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπαναφερόμενα ὄξει.
ἀφανίζει δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ δρόσος καταφέρονσα
αὐτά, καὶ οἱ ὄμβροι οἱ γιγνώμενοι διὰ χρόνου
ὀσμὰς ἄγοντες τῆς γῆς ποιοῦσι δύσοσμον, ἕως
ἂν ψυχθῇ· χεῖρῳ δὲ καὶ τὰ νότια ποιεῖ· ὑγραί-
νοντα γὰρ διαχεῖ· τὰ δὲ βόρεια, εἰάν ἢ ἄλυτα,

¹ ἄγειν τῆς γῆς has no parallel in Greek prose: perhaps ἔκ
has fallen out or τὴν γῆν should be read.

face, and the white hounds a tawny patch. At the top of the thighs the hair should be strught and thick, and on the loins and at the lower end of the tail, but it should be moderately thick higher up.

It is advisable to take the hounds to the mountains ⁹ often, but less frequently to cultivated land. For in the mountains it is possible to track and follow a hare without hindrance, whereas it is impossible to do either in cultivated land owing to the game paths. It is also well to take the hounds out into rough ¹⁰ ground, whether they find a hare or not, for they get sound in the feet, and hard work in such country is good for their bodies. In summer they should be ¹¹ out till midday, in winter at any hour of the day, in autumn at any time except midday, and before evening during the spring, for at these times the temperature is mild.

V The scent of the hare lies long in winter owing to the length of the nights, and for a short time in summer for the opposite reason. In the winter, however, there is no scent in the early morning whenever there is a white frost or the earth is frozen hard. For both white and black frost hold heat, since the one draws it out by its own strength, and the other congeals it. The hounds noses, too, ² are numbed by the cold, and they cannot smell when the tracks are in such a state until the tracks thaw in the sun or as day advances. Then the dogs can smell and the scent revives. A heavy dew, ³ again, obliterates scent by carrying it downwards, and storms, occurring after a long interval, draw smells from the ground ¹ and make the earth bad for scent until it dries. South winds spoil scent, because the moisture scatters it, but north winds concentrate

- 4 συνίστησι καὶ σώζει. οἱ δὲ ὕετοὶ κατακλύζουσι καὶ αἱ ψακάδες, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἀμαυροῖ τῷ θερμῷ, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἡ πανσέληνος· καὶ μανότατα τότε· χαίροντες γὰρ τῷ φέγγει ἐπαναρριπτοῦντε, μακρὰ διαίρουσιν¹ ἀντιπαίζοντες· ταραχώδη δέ, 5 ὅταν ἀλώπεκες προδιεξέλθωσι, γίνεται. τὸ δὲ ἔαρ κεκραμένον τῇ ὥρᾳ καλῶς παρέχει τὰ ἰχνη λαμπρά, πλὴν εἴ τι ἡ γῆ ἐξανθοῦσα βλάπτει τὰς κύνας, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμμιγνύουσα τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰς ὀσμάς· λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τοῦ θέρους· διά- πυρος γὰρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει τὸ θερμόν, ὃ ἔχουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ λεπτὸν καὶ αἱ κύνες ἦττον ὀσφραίνονται τότε διὰ τὸ ἐκκλεῦσθαι τὰ σώματα. τοῦ δὲ μετοπώρου καθαρὰ· ὅσα γὰρ ἡ γῆ φέρει, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα συγκεκόμισται, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια γῆρᾳ διαλέλυνται· ὥστε οὐ παραλυποῦσι τῶν καρπῶν 6 αἱ ὀσμαι εἰς ταῦτά φερόμεναι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ χει- μῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ μετοπώρου τὰ ἰχνη ὀρθὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τοῦ δ' ἡρος συμπεπλεγμέια· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον συνδυνάζεται μὲν αἰεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετ' ἀλλήλων πλανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν.
- 7 Ὅζει δὲ τῶν ἰχνῶν ἐπὶ πλείῳ χρόνον τῶν εὐναίων ἢ τῶν δρομαίων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐναῖα ὀ- λαγῶς τορεύεται ἐφιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχύ· ἡ γῆ οὖν τῶν μὲν πυκνοῦται, τῶν δὲ οὐ τίμπλαται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑλώδεσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς ὅζει· διατρέχων γὰρ καὶ ἀνακαθίζων ἄπτεται πολλῶν.

¹ διαίρουσιν Radermacher δ αἰρούσιν S with the MSS

² Or "deadens the heat" If we read τὸ θερμόν with Gieseler I ut the Greeks did attribute heat to the moon

and preserve it, if it has not been previously dissolved
 Heavy showers drown it, and so does light rain, and 4
 the moon derdens it by its warmth,¹ especially when
 at the full. Scent is most irregular at that time, for
 the hares, enjoying the light, fling themselves high in
 the air and jump a long way, frolicking with one
 another, and it becomes confused when foxes have
 crossed it. Spring with its genial temperature yields 5
 a clear scent, except where the ground is studded with
 flowers and hampers the hounds by mingling the
 odours of the flowers with it. In summer it is thin and
 faint, for the ground, being baked, obliterates what
 warmth it possesses, which is thin, and the hounds'
 noses are not so good at that season, because their
 bodies are relaxed. In the autumn it is unimpeded,
 for the cultivated crops have been harvested and
 the weeds have withered, so that the odours of
 the herbage do not cause trouble by mingling
 with it. In winter and summer and autumn the 6
 scent lies straight in the main. In spring it is
 complicated, for though the animal couples at
 all times, it does so especially at this season,²
 so instinct prompts them to roam about together,
 and this is the result they produce.

The scent left by the hare in going to her form 7
 lasts longer than the scent of a running hare. For
 on the way to the form the hare keeps stopping,
 whereas when on the run she goes fast, consequently
 the ground is packed with it in the one case, but
 in the other is not filled with it. In coverts it is
 stronger than in open ground, because she touches
 many objects while running about and sitting up

* The ' March hare '

- 8 Κατακλίονται δ' εἰς ἃ ἡ γῆ φύει ἢ ἔχει ἐφ'
 αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ταιτί, ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, -αρ,
 αὐτά, ἄποθεν πολὺ, μικροὶ, μεταξὺ τοιούτων· ὅ-
 δε καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ διαρριπτῶν ἐπὶ το δυνάτοι
 καὶ ἐν ὕδατι, εἴαν τι ἢ ὑπερέχον ἢ ἐμπεφυκὸς ἐν
 9 τούτῳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν¹ εὐαῖος τοιούμενος εἶνῃν ἐπὶ
 τὸ πολὺ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ψύχῃ, ἐν εὐδαιμοῖς, ὅταν δὲ
 καύματα, ἐν ταλισκίοις, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ φθινό-
 τωρον ἐν προσηλίοις· οἱ δὲ δρομαῖοι οὐχ οὕτω
 διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν κυιῶν ἔκτληκτοι² γίγνεσθαι
 10 κατακλνεται δὲ ὑποθεῖς τὰ ὑποκώλια ὑπὸ τὰς
 λαγόνας, τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν σκέλη τὰ τλείστα
 συιθεῖς καὶ ἐκτείνας, ἐπ' ἄκρους δὲ τοὺς πόδας
 τὴν γένυν καταθείς, τὰ δὲ ὦτα ἐπιτετάσας ἐπὶ
 τὰς ὠμοπλάτας, εἴτα δὲ ὑποστέγει τὰ ὑγρά ἔχει
 δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίχα στεγανήν· πυκνὴ γὰρ καὶ
 11 μαλακὴ καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐγρηγόρη, καταμύει τὰ
 βλέφαρα, ὅταν δὲ καθεύδῃ, τὰ μὲν βλέφαρα
 ἀναπέπτатаι ἀκίνητα, οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀτρέμας
 ἔχουσι· τοὺς δὲ μυκτῆρας, ὅταν μὲν εὐδῇ, κινεῖ
 12 πυκνά, ὅταν δὲ μή, ἥττον ὅταν δὲ ἡ γῆ βρῦν,
 μᾶλλον τὰ ἔργα ἢ τὰ ὄρη ἔχουσιν. ὑπομένει δὲ
 πανταχοῦ ἰχνευόμενος, εἴαν μήτι περίφοβος τῆς
 νυκτὸς γένηται· παθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὑποκινεῖ.
 13 Πολύγοιον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τέτοκε,

¹ οὖν should probably be omitted
² ἔμπληκτοι S, after Schneider

¹ See "The Hare," *Fur and Feather Series*, p. 33 f
² The fluctuation between plural and singular is in the Greek.

They find a resting place where there is anything 8
growing or lying on the ground, underneath any-
thing, on the top of the objects, inside, alongside,
well away or quite near or fairly near, occasionally
even in the sea¹ by springing on to anything she² can
reach, or in fresh water, if there is anything sticking
out or growing in it, the hare,³ when going to her 9
form generally choosing a sheltered place for it in cold
weather and a cool one in hot, but in spring and
autumn a place exposed to the sun; but hares on the run
do not do that, because they are scared by the hounds
When she sits, she puts the hind-legs under the 10
flanks, and most commonly keeps the fore-legs close
together and extended, resting the chin on the ends
of the feet, and spreading the ears over the shoulder-
blades, so that⁴ she covers the soft parts The hair too,
being thick and soft, serves as a protection. When 11
awake she blinks her eyelids, but when she is
asleep the eyelids are wide open and motionless, and
the eyes still She moves her nostrils continually
when sleeping, but less frequently when awake
When the ground is bursting with vegetation they 12
frequent the fields rather than the mountains
Wherever she may be she remains there when
tracked, except when she is suddenly alarmed at
night, in which case she moves off

The animal is so prolific that at the same time she is 13

The distinction is not, as often supposed, between hares
with different *habits* ("squatters," *εσχατοι*, and "roamers"
δροματοι—a non-existent distinction), but merely between the
behaviour of all hares in different circumstances The
unusual, but not unexampled position of the article—*αι*
αι—has misled interpreters. Blane saw the true meaning

¹ I do not think that *ενα* *ει* can mean this, and I suspect
that *ενα* is wrong

- τὰ δὲ τίκτει, τὰ δὲ κνεῖ. τῶν δὲ μικρῶν λαγίων
 ὅζει μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μεγάλων· ἔτι γὰρ ὑγρομελή
 14 ὄντα ἐπισύρεται ὅλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὰ μὲν οὖν
 λίαν νεογνὰ οἱ φιλοκυνηγέται ἀφιασι τῇ θεῷ· οἱ
 δὲ ἤδη ἔτειοι τάχιστα θέουσι τὸν πρῶτον δρόμον,
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκ ἔτι· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐλαφροί, ἀδύ-
 νατοι δέ.
- 15 Λαμβάνειν δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ τὰ ἵχνη ὑπάγοντα
 τὰς κύνας ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἄνωθεν· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ
 ἔρχονται αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἐργάσιμα, τοὺς λειμῶνας,
 τὰς νάπας, τὰ ρεῖθρα, τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὑλώδη·
 καὶ ἐὰν ὑποκινή, μὴ ἀναβοᾶν, ἵνα μὴ αἱ κύνες
 ἐκφρονεσθῶσι γιγνόμεναι χαλεπῶς τὰ ἵχνη γνωρίζωσιν.
- 16 εὐρισκομενοὶ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ διωκόμενοι ἔστιν
 ὅτε διαβαίνουσι τὰ ρεύματα, καὶ ὑποκάμπτονσι
 καὶ καταδύνονται εἰς φάραγγας καὶ εἰς εἰλυούς·
 πεφύβηνται γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς κύνας ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς ἀετούς· ὑπερβύλλοντες γὰρ τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ
 ψιλὰ ἀναρπάζονται, ἕως ἂν ὧσιν ἔτειοι· τοὺς δὲ
 μείζους ἐπιτρέχουσαι αἱ κύνες ἀναιροῦνται.¹
- 17 Ποδωκέστατοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄρειοι, οἱ πεδινοὶ
 δὲ ἡττον, βραδύτατοι δὲ οἱ ἔλαιοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ
 πάντας τοὺς τόπους πλανῆται χαλεποὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς δρόμους· τὰ γὰρ σύντομα ἴσασι· θέουσι γὰρ
 μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἀνάντη ἢ τὰ ὀμαλά, τὰ δὲ
 ἀνώμαλα² ἀνομοίως, τὰ δὲ κατάντη ἥκιστα.
- 18 διωκόμενοι δὲ εἰσι κατάδηλοι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ

¹ ἀναροῦνται Richards; ἀφαιροῦνται S. with the MSS

² ἀνώμαλα A· ἀνόμοια S with the rest.

they drag the whole body on the ground. Sports- 14
men, however, leave the very young ones to the
goddess.¹ Yearlings go very fast in the first run,
but then flag, being agile, but weak.

Find the hare's track by beginning with the 15
hounds in the cultivated lands and gradually working
downwards.² To track those that do not come into
cultivated land, search³ the meadows, valleys,
streams, stones and woody places. If she moves off,
don't shout, or the hounds may get wild with excite-
ment and fail to recognise the tracks. Hares when 16
found by hounds and pursued sometimes cross brooks
and double back and slip into gullies or holes. The
fact is they are terrified not only of the hounds, but
of eagles as well; for they are apt to be snatched
up while crossing hillocks and bare ground until⁴
they are yearlings, and the bigger ones are run
down and caught by the hounds.

The swiftest are those that frequent mountains; 17
those of the plain are not so speedy; and those of
the marshes are the slowest. Those that roam over
any sort of country are difficult to chase, since they
know the short cuts. They run mostly uphill⁵ or
on the level, less frequently in uneven ground, and
very seldom downhill. When being pursued they are 18

¹ The cultivated land is on the lower slopes of the mountains.

² There is evidently a gap in the Greek before τοὺς λειμῶνας, which has nothing to govern it.

³ Not "so long as"; cf. § 14.

⁴ i.e. when pursued.

- γῆς κεκινημένης, ἐὰν ἔχωσιν ἔνιον ἐρύθημα, καὶ
 διὰ καλάμης διὰ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν· κατάδηλοι δὲ
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς τριμμοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ἐὰν ὦσιν
 ἰσόπεδοι· τὸ γὰρ φανὸν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνὸν ἀντι-
 λάμπει· ἄδηλοι δέ, ὅταν τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὄρη, τὰ
 φέλλια, τὰ δασέα ἀποχωρῶσι, διὰ τὴν ὁμόχροιαν.
 19 προλαμβάνοντες δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐφίστανται καὶ
 ἀνακαθίζοντες ἐπαίρουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπακού-
 ουσιν, εἴ που πλησίον κλαγγὴ ἢ ψόφος τῶν κυνῶν·
 20 καὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἀκούσωσιν, ἀποτρέπονται. ὅτε δὲ
 καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσαντες, ἀλλὰ δόξαντες ἢ πεισθέντες
 ὑφ' αὐτῶν παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπαλ-
 λάττοντες ἄλματα, ἐμποιοῦντες ἵχνεσιν ἵχνη,
 21 ἀποχωροῦσι. καὶ εἰσι μακροδρομώτατοι μὲν οἱ
 ἐκ τῶν ψιλῶν εὐρισκόμενοι διὰ τὸ καταφανές,
 βραχυδρομώτατοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δασέων· ἐμποδῶν
 γὰρ τὸ σκοτεινόν.
 22 Δύο δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 μεγάλοι τὸ χρῶμα¹ ἐπίπερκνοι καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τὸ
 ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ μέγα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐλάττους
 23 ἐπίξανθοι, μικρὸν τὸ λευκὸν ἔχοντες. τὴν δὲ
 οὐρὰν οἱ μὲν κύκλῳ περιποίκιλον, οἱ δὲ παρά-
 σειρον, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα οἱ μὲν ὑποχάροποι, οἱ δ'
 ὑπόγλαυκοι· καὶ τὰ μέλανα τὰ περὶ τὰ ὦτα
 24 ἄκρα² οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μικρόν. ἔχουσι
 δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νήσων τοὺς ἐλάττους,
 αἳ τ' ἔρημοι καὶ οἰκούμεναι· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πλείους

¹ τὸ χρῶμα AB and Pollux : S. omits with M.

² ἄκρα ὦτα S.

most conspicuous across ground that has been broken up, if they have some red in their coats, or across stubble, owing to the shadow they cast. They are also conspicuous in game paths and on roads if these are level, since the bright colour of their coats shows up in the light. But when their line of retreat is amongst stones, in the mountains, over rocky or thickly wooded ground they cannot be seen owing to the similarity of colouring. When they are well 19 ahead of the hounds, they will stop, and sitting up will raise themselves and listen for the baying or the footfall of the hounds anywhere near; and should they hear the sound of them from any quarter, they make off. Occasionally, even when they hear 20 no sound, some fancy or conviction prompts them to jump hither and thither past and through the same objects, mixing the tracks as they retreat. The longest runners are those that are found on 21 bare land, because they are exposed to view; the shortest, those found in thick covers, since the darkness hinders their flight.

There are two species of hare.¹ The large are dark 22 brown, and the white patch on the forehead is large, the smaller are chestnut, with a small white patch. The larger have spots round the scut, the smaller at 23 the side of it. The eyes in the large species are blue, in the small grey. The black at the tip of the ear is broad in the one species, narrow in the other. The smaller are found in most of the islands, both 24 desert and inhabited. They are more plentiful

¹ The common hare and a smaller variety of the same; which is said to be "more brindled in colour" than the larger kind. See "The Hare" in *Fur and Feather Series*, p. 6.

πρὸς ἄρμόν¹ σύγκειται γὰρ ἐκ τοιούτων τὸ σῶμα.

- 30 ἔχει γὰρ κεφαλὴν κούφην, μικράν, καταφερῆ, στενὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν, ὦτα ὑψηλά, τράχηλον λεπτόν, περιφερῆ, οὐ σκληρόν, μήκος ἱκανόν, ὠμοπλάτας ὀρθάς, ἄσυνδέτους ἄνωθεν, σκέλη τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐλαφρά, σύγκωλα, στῆθος οὐ βαρύτονον, πλευρὰς ἐλαφράς, συμμέτρους, ὀσφύν περιφερῆ, κωλὴν σαρκώδη, λαγόνας ὑγράς, λαπαράς ἱκανῶς, ἰσχία στρογγύλα, πλήρη κύκλω,² ἄνωθεν δὲ ὡς χρὴ διεστῶτα, μηροὺς μικροὺς,³ εὐπαγεῖς, ἔξωθεν μῦς³ ἐπιτεταμένους, ἐνδοθεν δὲ οὐκ ὀγκώδεις, ὑποκώλια μακρά, στιφρά, πόδας τοὺς πρόσθεν ἄκρως ὑγροὺς, στενοὺς, ὀρθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν στερεοὺς, πλατεῖς, πάντας δὲ οὐδενὸς τραχείος φροντίζοντας, σκέλη τὰ ὀπισθεν μείζω πολὺ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐγκεκλιμένα
- 31 μικρὸν ἔξω, τρίχωμα βραχύ, κούφον. ἔστιν οὖν ἀδύνατον μὴ οὐκ εἶναι ἐκ τοιούτων συνηρμοσμένον ἰσχυρόν, ὑγρόν, ὑπερέλαφρον.

- Τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν· ὅταν ἀτρέμα διαπορευῇται, πηδᾷ, βαδίζοντα δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν οὐδ' ὄψεται, τιθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ποδῶν τοὺς ὀπισθεν καὶ ἔξω, καὶ⁴ θεῖ οὕτως.
- 32 δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐν χιόνι. οὐρὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖαν ἔχει πρὸς δρόμον· ἐπευθύνειν γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὴ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα· ἀλλὰ τῷ ὥτι ἐκατέρῳ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅταν ἀνιστῇται⁵ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν,

¹ ἄρμόν ABM: δρόμον S. with inferior MSS.

² μικροὺς Pierleoni: μακροὺς S.

³ μῦς MSS: μὲν S.

⁴ καὶ MSS: S omits with Schneider.

For the various parts that make up her body are formed as follows

The head is light, small, drooping, narrow at the 30 front, the ears are upright,¹ the neck is thin, round, not stiff, and fairly long, the shoulder-blades are straight and free at the top, the fore-legs are agile and close together, the chest is not broad, the ribs are light and symmetrical, the loins are circular, the rump is fleshy; the flanks are soft and fairly spongy, the hips are round, well filled out, and the right distance apart at the top, the thighs are small and firm, muscular on the outside and not puffy on the inside, the shanks are long and firm, the fore feet are extremely pliant and narrow and straight and the hind feet hard and broad; and all four are indifferent to rough ground, the hind-legs are much longer than the fore-legs, and slightly bent outwards, the coat is short and light. With such a 31 frame she cannot fail to be strong, pliant and very agile

Here is a proof of her agility. When going quietly, she springs—no one ever saw or ever will see a hare walking—bringing the hind feet forward in advance of the fore feet and outside them, and that is how she runs. This is obvious when snow is on the 32 ground. The scut is of no assistance in running, for it is not able to steer the body owing to its shortness. The hare does this by means of one of her ears, and when she is roused by the hounds she

¹ "The ears are upright" is not in the MSS, and is inserted from Pollux. As our author is enumerating those characteristics of the hare that make for speed it is not quite certain that the words are his, but see § 33

* ἀνιστῆται Pierleoni αλίσκῃται S with the MSS

καταβάλλων καὶ¹ παραβάλλων τὸ ἕτερον οὓς
πλάγιον, ὅποτέρᾳ ἂν λυπῇται, ἀπερειδόμενος
δὴ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποστρέφεται ταχύ, ἐν μικρῷ πολὺν
33 καταλιπὼν τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἐπίχαρὶ
ἐστι τὸ θέαμα,² ὥστε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν
ἰχνεύομενον, εὕρισκόμενον, μεταθεόμενον, ἀλίσκώ-
μενον ἐπιλάβοιτ' ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἐρώη.

34 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι
ὦν ὥραι φέρουσι καὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ τὰ ρείθρα
ἐὰν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπτεσθαι τούτων αἰσχρὸν καὶ
κακόν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοι ὦσιν οἱ
ἰδόντες. καὶ ὅταν ἀναγρία ἐμπίπτῃ, ἀναλύνει
χρὴ τὰ περὶ κυνηγέσιον πάντα.

VI. Κυνῶν δὲ κόσμος δέραια, ἱμάντες, στελμο-
νίαι· ἔστω δὲ τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακά, πλατέα,
ἵνα μὴ θραύῃ τὰς τρίχας τῶν κυνῶν, οἱ δὲ ἱμάντες
ἔχοντες ἀγκύλας τῇ χειρί, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· οὐ
γὰρ καλῶς τηροῦσι τὰς κύνας οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν
εἰργασμένοι τὰ δέραια· αἱ δὲ στελμονίαι πλατεῖς
τοὺς ἱμάντας, ἵνα μὴ τρίβωσι τὰς λαγόνας αὐτῶν·
ἐγκατερραμμένα δὲ ἐγκεντρίδες, ἵνα τὰ γένη
φυλάττωσιν.

2 Ἐξάγειν δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ χρὴ ἐπὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια,
ὅταν μὴ τὰ προσφερόμενα δέχωνται ἡδέως·
τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔρρωνται· μηδὲ ὅταν
ἄνεμος πνέῃ μέγας. διαρπάζει γὰρ τὰ ἵχνη καὶ
οὐ δύνανται ὁσφραίνεσθαι οὐδὲ αἱ ἄρκυς ἐστάναι
3 οὐδὲ τὰ δίκτυα ὅταν δὲ τούτων μηδέτερον
κωλίῃ, ἄγειν διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρας. τὰς δὲ ἀλώ-

¹ καὶ Dindorf: γὰρ καὶ S. with the MSS.

² θέαμα Arrian, Hermonopolis: θηρίον S. with the MSS.

drops one ear on the side on which she is being pressed and throws it aslant, and then bearing on this she wheels round sharply and in a moment leaves the assailant far behind. So charming is the sight that to see a hare tracked, found, pursued and caught is enough to make any man forget his heart's desire 33

When hunting on cultivated land avoid growing crops and let pools and streams alone. It is unseemly and wrong to interfere with them, and there is a risk of encouraging those who see to set themselves against the law¹. On days on which there is no hunting,² all hunting tackle should be removed 34

VI The trappings of hounds are collars, leashes, and surcingles. The collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else, for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible. The straps of the surcingles should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on to them, to keep the breed pure.

Hounds should not be taken out hunting when off their feed, since this is a proof that they are ailing, nor when a strong wind is blowing since it scatters the scent and they cannot smell, and the purse nets will not stand in position, nor the haves. But when neither of these hindrances prevents, have the hounds out every other day. Do not let them 3

¹ Both text and meaning are doubtful here. I v. 'the law' is probably meant the law (or custom?) that a. well hunters to hunt over growing crops. See c. xii. 5.
² i.e. during festivals.

πεκας μὴ ἐθίζειν τὰς κύνας διώκειν· διαφθορὰ
γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι οὐποτε πάρεσιν.
4 εἰς δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια μεταβάλλοντα ἄγειν, ἵνα
ὧσιν ἔμπειροι τῶν κυνηγεσίων, αὐτὸς¹ δὲ τῆς
χώρας. ἐξιέναι δὲ πρῶί, ἵνα τῆς ἰχνεύσεως μὴ
ἀποστερῶνται, ὥς οἱ ὀψιζόμενοι ἀφαιροῦνται τὰς
μὲν κύνας τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὸν λαγῶ, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῆς
ὠφελείας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμένει τοῦ ἵχνους ἡ φύσις
λεπτὴ οὔσα πᾶσαν ὥραν.

5 Τὴν δὲ στολὴν ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς ἐξίτω ἔχων ἐπὶ
θήραν μὴ ἔχουσαν βάρος. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς ἰστάτω
εἰς ὁδοὺς ἀμφιδρόμους,² τραχείας, σιμάς, λαγαράς,
σκοτεινάς, ῥοῦς, χαράδρας, χειμάρρους ἀενάους·
εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα φεύγει· εἰς ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα
6 ἄπειρον εἰπεῖν· τούτων δὲ παρόδους, διόδους,
καταφανεῖς, λεπτάς,³ εἰς ὄρθρον καὶ μὴ πρῶί,
ἵνα ἐὰν ἦ πλησίον τὸ ἀρκυστάσιον τῶν ζητησίμων,
μὴ φοβῆται ἀκούων ὁμοῦ τὸν ψόφον (ἐὰν δὲ ἦ
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πολὺ, ἦττον κωλύει πρῶί) καθαρὰς
ποιούμενος⁴ τὰς ἀρκυστασίας, ἵνα αὐτῶν μηδὲν
7 ἀντέχεται. πηγνύειν δὲ τὰς σχαλίδας ὑπτίας,
ὅπως ἂν ἐπαγόμεναι ἔχωσι τὸ σύντονον· ἐπὶ δὲ
ἄκρας ἴσους τοὺς βρόχους ἐπιβαλλέτω καὶ ὁμοίως

¹ αὐτὸς Weiske: αὐτοὶ S. with the MSS.

² A has εἰς ἀμφιδρόμους, the rest ἀμφιδρόμους only: S reads ἀμφὶ δρόμους, ὁδοὺς τραχείας. Probably some substantive has dropped out of the MSS., but ὁδοὺς is unlikely. Perhaps εἰς ἀμφιδρόμας should be read; ὁδοὺς is not in the MSS.

³ A word to govern these accusatives must have been lost.

⁴ ποιούμενος S.

¹ This portentous sentence is a literal presentation of the Greek text, which, however, is rather uncertain. If the

ἀντεριδέτω, ἐπαίρων εἰς μέσον τὸν κεκρύφαλον.
 8 εἰς δὲ τὸν περιδρομον ἐναπτέτω λίθον μακρὸν
 καὶ μέγαν, ἵνα ἡ ἄρκυς, ὅταν ἔχη τὸν λαγῶ, μὴ
 ἀντιτείνῃ· στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά, ὅπως ἂν
 μὴ ὑτερπηδᾷ.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰχνεύαις μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· ἔστι
 γὰρ θηρατικὸν μὲν οὐ,¹ φιλόπονον δὲ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς
 τρόπου ἐλεῖν ταχύ.

9 Τὰ δὲ δίκτυα τεινέτω ἐν ἀπέδοις, ἐμβαλλέτω
 δὲ τὰ ἐνόδια εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν
 εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα, καθάπτων τοὺς περιδρόμους
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἀκρωλένια συνάγων, πηγνύων
 τὰς σχαλίδας μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων, ἐπὶ ἄκρας
 ἐπιβήλλων τοὺς ἐπιδρόμους καὶ τὰ² παρύδρομα
 10 συμφράττων. φυλαττέτω δὲ ἐκπεριών· εἰάν δὲ
 ἐκκλίνῃ τὸν στοῖχον ἡ³ ἄρκυς, ἀνιστάτω. διωκο-
 μένου δὲ τοῦ⁴ λαγῶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν
 προῖέσθω καὶ ἐπιθέων μὲν ἐκβοάτω ἐμπεπτω-
 κότος δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν κυνῶν πανέτω, μὴ ἀπτό-
 μενος ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος καὶ δηλούτω τῷ
 κυνηγέτῃ, ὅτι εἴλωκεν ἀναβοήσας ἢ ὅτι παρα-
 δεδραμῆκε παρὰ τὰδε ἢ τὰδε ἢ ὅτι οὐχ ἐώρακεν
 ἢ οὐ κατεῖδε

¹ οὐ A: S. omits with the rest.

² S omits τὰ with BM.

³ A has τὸν στοῖχον ἡ BM στοῖχος ἡ: S reads στοῖχοι ἡ.

⁴ διωκόμενον δὲ τὸν S with BM.

head.

¹ See c. ii §4 The stone serves as an anchor when the net falls off the stakes.

set the props¹ uniformly, raising the purse towards the centre. To the cord² let him attach a long, big stone, so that the net may not pull away when the hare is inside. Let him make his line long and high,³ so that the hare may not jump over.

When it comes to tracking the hare, he must not be too zealous. To do everything possible to effect a quick capture shows perseverance, but is not hunting.⁴

Let him stretch the hayes on level ground and put the road-nets⁵ in roads and from game tracks into the adjacent ground, fastening down the (lower) cords to the ground, joining the elbows, fixing the stakes between the selvages,⁶ putting the ends on the top of the stakes and stopping the by-ways. Let him mount guard, going round the nets. 10 If a purse-net is pulling its stake out of line, let him put it up. When the hare is being chased into the purse-nets he must run forward and shout as he runs after her. When she is in, he must calm the excitement of the hounds, soothing without touching them. He must also shout to the huntsman and let him know that the hare is caught, or that she has run past on this or that side, or that he has not seen her, or where he caught sight of her.

¹ The stakes must not be too deep in the ground, or the nets will not be high enough.

² These remarks read like an afterthought.

³ The hayes and purse nets seem to be connected in the same series; but the road-nets seem to be independent screens.

⁴ We are to think of a series of nets joined together. These stakes will be inserted in the top and bottom line of meshes. The selvage runs along the top and bottom of the net.

- 11 Τὸν δὲ κυνηγέτην ἔχοντα ἐξιέναι ἡμελημένην
 ἐλαφρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ ὑπόδεσιν,
 ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ῥόπαλον, τὸν δὲ ἄρκυωρὸν ἔπεσθαι
 πρὸς δὲ τὸ κυνηγέσιον σιγῇ προσιέναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ
 λαγῶς, εἴαν πού ῃ πλησίον, ὑποκινήῃ ἀκούων τῆς
 12 φωνῆς. δῆσαντα δ' ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τὰς κύνας
 ἐκάστην χωρίς, ὅπως ἂν εὐλυτοὶ ὦσιν, ἰστάναι
 τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, ὡς εἴρηται. μετὰ δὲ
 τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἄρκυωρὸν εἶναι ἐν φυλακῇ· αὐτὸν
 δὲ τὰς κύνας λαβόντα ἰέναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν
 13 τοῦ κυνηγεσίου. καὶ εὐξάμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
 καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ μεταδοῦναι τῆς
 θήρας λῦσαι μίαν κύνα, ἥτις ἂν ῃ σοφωτάτη
 ἰχνεύειν, εἴαν μὲν ῃ χειμῶν, αἶμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι,
 εἴαν δὲ θέρος, πρὸ ἡμέρας, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὥρας
 14 μεταξὺ τούτων. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ κύων λάβῃ τὸ
 ἶχνος ὀρθὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλλαγμένων, παραλῦσαι καὶ
 ἑτέραν· περαινομένον δὲ τοῦ ἶχνους διαλιπόντα
 μὴ πολὺ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀφίέναι κατὰ μίαν καὶ
 ἔπεσθαι μὴ ἐγκείμενον, ὀνομαστὶ ἐκάστην προσ-
 αγορεύοντα, μὴ πολλά, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνωνται
 15 πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μένους
 προΐασιν ἐξίλλουσαι τὰ ἶχνη, ὡς πέφυκε, διπλᾶ,
 τριπλᾶ, προφορούμεναι παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν
 αὐτῶν, ἐπηλλαγμένα, περιφερῇ, ὀρθά, καμπύλα,
 πυκνά, μανά, γνώριμα, ἄγνωστα, εἰαυτὰς παρα-
 θέουσai, ταχὺ ταῖς οὐραῖς διασείουσαι καὶ ἐπικλί-
 νουσai τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἀστράπτουσai τοῖς ὄμμασιν.
 16 ἐπειδὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὦσι, δῆλον ποιήσουσι

Let the huntsman go out to the hunting ground 11
 in a simple light dress and shoes, carrying a cudgel
 in his hand, and let the net keeper follow Let
 them keep silence while approaching the ground,
 so that, in case the hare is near, she may not move
 off on hearing voices Having tied the hounds 12
 separately to the trees so that they can easily be
 slipped, let him set up the purse-nets and hayes¹
 in the manner described After this let the net-
 keeper keep guard, and let the huntsman take
 the hounds and go to the place in the hunting
 ground where the hare may be lurking, and after 13
 registering a vow to Apollo and Artemis the Huntress
 to give them a share of the spoil, let him loose one
 hound, the clearest at following a track, at sun-
 rise in winter, before dawn in summer, and some
 time between at other seasons As soon as the 14
 hound picks up a line from the network of tracks
 that leads straight ahead, let him slip another If
 the track goes on, let him set the others going one by
 one at short intervals, and follow without pressing
 them, accosting each by name, but not often, that
 they may not get excited too soon They will go 15
 forward full of joy and ardour, disentangling the
 various tracks, double or triple—springing forward
 now beside, now across the same ones—tracks inter-
 laced or circular, straight or crooked, close or scattered,
 clear or obscure, running past one another with tails
 wagging, ears dropped and eyes flashing As soon 16
 as they are near the hare they will let the huntsman

¹ Neither here nor in § 26 is there any reference to the road nets It is impossible to suggest a reason for this and perhaps the necessary words have dropped out in both places, as might easily happen.

- τῷ κυνηγέτῃ σὺν ταῖς οὐραῖς τὰ σώματα ὅλα
 συνετικραδαίνουσαι, πολεμικῶς ἐπιφερόμεναι,
 φιλονίκως παραθέουσai, συντρέχουσai φιλο-
 τοίως, συνιστάμεναι ταχύ, διστάμεναι, τάλιν
 ἐπιφερόμεναι· τελευτῶσαι δὲ ἀφίξονται πρὸς
 τὴν εὐνὴν τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ἐτιδραμοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτόν.
 17 ὁ δ' ἐξαίφνης ἀνάξας ἐφ' αὐτόν ὑλαγμὸν ποιήσει
 τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κλαγγὴν φεύγων. ἐμβοάτῳ¹ δὲ
 αὐτῷ διωκομένῳ, ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ καλῶς,² σοφῶς³
 γε ὦ κύνες, καλῶς γε ὦ κύνεις. καὶ κυνοδρομεῖν
 περιελίξαντα ὁ ἀμπέχεται περὶ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ
 τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀναλαβόντα κατὰ τὸν λαγῶ καὶ μὴ
 18 ὑπαντᾶν· ἄπορον γάρ. ὁ δὲ ὑποχωρῶν ταχύ
 ἐκλείπων τὴν ὄψιν πάλιν περιβάλλει ὅθεν εὐρί-
 σκεται ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀναβοᾶν δ' ἐκείνον μὲν
 αὐτῷ, παισάτῳ παῖς⁴ παῖε δὴ, παῖε δὴ·⁵ ὁ δέ,
 εἰάν τε ἐάλωκὼς ἢ εἰάν τε μὴ, δηλούτῳ.
 Καὶ εἰάν μὲν ἐάλωκὼς ἢ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δρόμῳ,
 ἀνακαλεσάμενον τὰς κύνας ζητεῖν ἄλλον· εἰάν δὲ
 μὴ, κυνοδρομεῖν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι,⁶ ἀλλ'
 19 ἐκπερᾶν φιλοπόνως καὶ εἰάν πάλιν ἀπαντῶσι
 διώκουσαι αὐτόν, ἀναβοᾶν, εὖ γε εὖ γε ὦ κύνες,
 ἔπεσθε ὦ κύνες· εἰάν δὲ πολὺ προειληφυῖαι ὦσι
 καὶ μὴ οἷός τ' ἢ κυνοδρομῶν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι αὐταῖς,
 ἀλλὰ διημαρτηκὼς ἢ τῶν δρόμων ἢ καὶ πλησίον

¹ ἐμβοάτῳ A· ἐμβοώντων S with BM

² ἰὼ καλῶς Falbe ἰὼ κακὸς BM, whence ἰὼ κακῶς S A omits

³ σοφῶς, Gesner· σοφῶς S with the MSS

⁴ S gives ἐκείνον μὲν, αὐτῷ παῖς, αὐτῷ παῖς The text follows A.

⁵ If παῖ δὴ, παῖ δὴ (BM) is right, παῖ is an imperative of παῖω, not vocative of παῖς

know by the quivering of the whole body as well as the tail, by making fierce rushes, by racing past one another, by scampering along together persistently, moving quickly, breaking up and again rushing forward. At length they will reach the hare's form and will go for her. She will start up suddenly, 17 and will leave the hounds barking and baying behind her as she makes off. Let the huntsman shout at her as she runs, "Now, hounds, now! Well done! Bravo, hounds! Well done, hounds!" Wrapping his cloak round his arm and seizing his cudgel he must follow up behind the hare and not try to head her off, since that is useless. The hare, making off, 18 though out of sight, generally doubles back to the place where she is found. Let him call out¹ to the man, "Hit her, boy, hit her, hit her!" and the man must let him know whether she is caught or not.

If she is caught in the first run, let him call in the hounds and look for another. But if not, he must follow up at top speed and not let her go, but stick to it persistently. If the hounds come on 19 her again in the pursuit, let him cry, "Good, good, hounds, after her, hounds!" If they have got so far ahead of him that he cannot overtake them by following up and is quite out of the running, or if he

¹ *i.e.* at the moment when the hare, making for the place where she was found, comes near the nets. Something is amiss with the text here. The 'man' is, of course, the net keeper. He, too, has a cudgel, but the author has not said so.

- που φοιτώσας¹ ἢ ἐχομένας τῶν ἰχνῶν μὴ δύνηται
 ἰδεῖν, πυνθάνεσθαι παραθέοντα ἅμα ὅτῳ ἂν προσ-
 πελάξῃ ἀναβοῶντα, ἢ κατείδες ὡς τὰς κύϊας ;
 20 ἐπειδὴν δὲ πύθηται ἤδη, εἰάν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰχνει ὦσι,
 προσσπάντα ἐγκελεύειν, τοῦτομα μεταβάλλοντα
 ἐκάστης τῆς κυνός, ὅποσα χῆ οἶόν τ' ἂν ἢ τοὺς
 τόνους τῆς φωνῆς ποιούμενον, ὅξυ, βαρύ, μικρόν,
 μέγα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κελεύμασιν, εἰάν ὦσιν
 ἐν ὄρει αἱ μεταδρομαί, ἐπικελεύειν τόδε, εὐα²
 κύνες, εὐα ὦ κύνες. εἰάν δὲ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς
 ὦσι τοῖς ἰχνεσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλωσι, καλεῖν
 21 αὐτάς, οὐ πάλιν οὐ πάλιν ὦ κύνες ; ἐπειδὴν δὲ
 προσσπῶσι τοῖς ἰχνεσι, περιάγειν αὐτάς κύκλους
 πολλοὺς³ ποιούμενον· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἢ αὐταῖς ἀμαυρὸν
 τὸ ἰχνος, σημεῖον θέσθαι στοῖχον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ
 τούτου συνείρειν, μέχρι ἂν σαφῶς γνωρίσωσιν,
 22 ἐγκελεύοντα καὶ θωπεύοντα. αἱ δ' ἐπειδὴν λαμπρὰ
 ἢ τὰ ἰχνη, ἐπιρριπτοῦσαι, παραπηδῶσαι, κοινω-
 νοῦσαι, ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, ἐνσημαινόμεναι, ὄρους
 τιθέμεναι ἑαυταῖς γνωρίμους ταχὺ μεταθεύσονται·
 ὅταν δὲ οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ἰχνους πυκνῶς διάττωσι,
 μὴ κατέχοντα κυνοδρομεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας
 ὑπερβάλλωσι τὰ ἰχνη.
 23 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὦσι καὶ τοῦτο
 ἐπιδεικνύονται σαφῶς τῷ κυνηγῆτι, προσέχειν,
 ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὑποκινήῃ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πεφοβημένος
 τὰς κύνας, αἱ δὲ διαρριπτοῦσαι τὰς οὐράς καὶ

¹ I have omitted ἢ ἐπιβοῶσας here with Schneider.

² εὐα twice Gesner: εὐ twice S with the MSS

³ πολλοὺς A: πολλοὺς πυκνοὺς BM: πολλοὺς καὶ πυκνοὺς S with Stephanus.

cannot see them though they are moving about somewhere near or sticking to the tracks, let him find out by shouting as he runs past to anyone near, "Hullo! have you seen the hounds?" As soon 20 as he has found out, let him stand near if they are on the track, and cheer them on, running through the hounds names, using all the variations of tone he can produce, pitching his voice high and low, soft and loud. Amongst other calls, if the chase is in the mountains, let him sing out, "Oho, hounds, oho!"¹ If they are not clinging to the track, but are over running, let him call them in with, "Back, hounds, back with you!" As soon 21 as they are close on the tracks, let him cast them round,² making many circles, and wherever they find the track dim, let him stick a pole in the ground as a mark, and beginning from this mark keep them together until they clearly recognise the track, encouraging and coaxing them. As soon as the track 22 is clear they will be off in hot pursuit hurling themselves on it, jumping beside it, working together, guessing, signalling to one another and setting bounds for one another that they can recognise. When they are thus scurrying in a bunch along the track, let him follow up without pressing them, or they may over run the line through excess of zeal.

As soon as they are near the hare and give the 23 huntsman clear evidence of the fact, let him take care, or in her terror of the hounds she will slip away and be off. The hounds, wagging their tails, colliding and

¹ Imitating the call of the Bacchic revellers, 'the Hounds of Madness,' on Mount Cithaeron.

² Nowadays hounds are left to make their own cast and are only assisted when they fail to recover the line.

ἑαυταῖς ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερπηδῶσαι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγίνουσαι, ἐπαναίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς, εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγέτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἤδη ταῦτα, ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι
 24 τὸν λαγῶ καὶ ἐπίασι κεκλαγγυῖαι. εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτῃ ἢ ἔξω ἢ ἐντὸς παρενεχθῇ, καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον τούτων ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς γεγωνεῖτω. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἢ ἐαλωκώς, ἕτερον ἐπιζητεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, μεταθεῖν χρώμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκελεύμασιν.

25 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνες ἤδη ὑπόκοποι ὦσι καὶ ἢ ὀψὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν κυνηγέτην τὸν λαγῶ ἀπειρηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ παραλείποντα μηδὲν ὧν ἢ γῇ ἀνίστην ἢ ἔχει ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνάς, ὅπως ἂν μὴ παραλειφθῇ· κατακλίνεται γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ τὸ θηρίον καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ φόβου· τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον, ἐγκελεύοντα, παραμυθούμενον τὴν φιλάνθρωπον πολλά, τὴν αὐθάδη ὀλίγα, τὴν μέσσην μέτρια, ἕως ἂν ἢ ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας ἢ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμβάλῃ.

26 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελόντα τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα ἀνατρίψαντα τὰς κύνας ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, ἐπιμείναντα, εἰ μὴ θερυνὴ μεσημβρία, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κυνῶν οἱ πόδες μὴ καίωνται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ.

VII. Σκυλακεύειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπανιέντα τῶν πόνων τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα ἔχουσιν τὴν ἡσυχίαν πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἐπάγωνται τὴν φύσιν γενναίαν· ἢ γὰρ ὥρα πρὸς τὰς αὐξήσεις τῶν κυνῶν κρατίστη αὕτη· εἰσὶ δὲ τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἡμέραι, ἐν αἷς ἢ
 2 ἀνάγκη αὕτη ἔχει. ἄγειν δὲ καταπαυομένας, ἵνα

frequently jumping over one another, and baying loudly, with heads uplifted and glances at the huntsman, showing him plainly that they have the real thing now, will rouse the hare for themselves and go for her, giving tongue. If she plunges into the purse-nets 24 or bolts past them on the inside or outside, the net-keeper must in each event make it known by shouting. If she is caught, look for another; if not, continue the pursuit, using the same methods of encouragement.

As soon as the hounds are getting tired of pursuing 25 and the day is far advanced, it is time for the huntsman to search for the hare, worn out as she is, passing over nothing growing or lying on the ground, retracing his steps continually for fear of an oversight—since the animal rests in a small space and is too tired and frightened to get up,—bringing the hounds along, encouraging and exhorting the gentle frequently, the wilful sparingly, the average sort in moderation, until he kills her in a fair run or drives her into the purse-nets.

After this take up the purse-nets and ¹ hayes, rub 26 down the hounds and leave the hunting-ground, after waiting, if it be an afternoon in summer, in order that the hounds' feet may not be overheated on the road.

VII. For breeding purposes, relieve the bitches of work in the winter, that the rest may help them to produce a fine litter towards spring, which is the best growing season for hounds. They are in heat for fourteen days. Mate them with good dogs near 2 the end of the period, that they may the sooner

¹ Where are the road nets?

- ἐαυταῖς ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερπηδῶσαι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι, ἐπαναίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς, εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγέτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἤδη ταῦτα, ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι
- 24 τὸν λαγῶ καὶ ἐπίασι κεκλαγγυῖαι. ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτῃ ἢ ἔξω ἢ ἐντὸς παρενεχθῇ, καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον τούτων ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς γεγωνεῖτω. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἢ ἐαλωκώς, ἕτερον ἐπιζητεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν χρώμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκελεύμασιν.
- 25 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνες ἤδη ὑπόκοποι ὦσι καὶ ἢ ὀψὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν κυνηγέτην τὸν λαγῶ ἀπειρηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ παραλείποντα μηδὲν ὧν ἡ γῆ ἀνίησιν ἢ ἔχει ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνάς, ὅπως ἂν μὴ παραλειφθῇ· κατακλίνεται γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ τὸ θηρίον καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ φόβου· τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον, ἐγκελεύοντα, παραμυθούμενον τὴν φιλάνθρωπον πολλά, τὴν αὐθάδη ὀλίγα, τὴν μέσσην μέτρια, ἕως ἂν ἡ ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας ἢ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμβάλῃ.
- 26 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελόντα τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα ἀνατρίψαντα τὰς κύνας ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, ἐπιμείναντα, ἐὰν ἢ θερινὴ μεσημβρία, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κυνῶν οἱ πόδες μὴ καίωνται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ.
- VII. Σκυλακεύειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπανιέντα τῶν πόρων τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα ἔχουσαι τὴν ἡσυχίαν πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἐπάγωνται τὴν φύσιν γενναίαν· ἡ γὰρ ὥρα πρὸς τὰς αὐξήσεις τῶν κυνῶν κρατίστη αὕτη· εἰσὶ δὲ τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἡμέραι, ἐν αἷς ἡ ἀγάκη αὕτη ἔχει. ἄγειν δὲ καταπαυομένας, ἵνα

frequently jumping over one another, and baying loudly, with heads uplifted and glances at the huntsman, showing him plainly that they have the real thing now, will rouse the hare for themselves and go for her, giving tongue. If she plunges into the purse nets 24 or bolts past them on the inside or outside, the net-keeper must in each event make it known by shouting. If she is caught, look for another, if not, continue the pursuit, using the same methods of encouragement.

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¹ Where are the road nets?

- θάττον ἐγκύμονες γίγνωνται, πρὸς κύνας ἀγαθούς·
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὥσιν ἐπίφοροι, μὴ ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ κυνηγέ-
 σιον ἐνδελεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπειν, ἵνα μὴ φιλο-
 3 πορία διαφθείρωσι. κυοῦσι δ' ¹ ἐξήκονθ' ἡμέρας.
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ γένηται τὰ σκυλάκια, ὑπὸ τῇ τεκούσῃ
 ἔαν καὶ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν ὑφ' ἑτέραν κύνα· αἱ γὰρ
 θεραπείαι αἱ ἀλλότριαι οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐξίμοι· τὸ δὲ
 τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα
 4 καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἤδη πλα-
 νᾶται τὰ σκυλάκια, δίδοναι γάλα μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ
 καὶ οἷς μέλλει τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον βιώσεσθαι,
 ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· αἱ γὰρ βαρεῖαι πλησμοναὶ
 τῶν σκυλακίων διαστρέφουσι τὰ ² σκέλη, τοῖς ³
 σώμασι νόσους ἐμποιοῦσι, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἄδικα
 γίνεται.
- 5 Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα αὐταῖς τίθεσθαι βραχέα, ἵνα
 εὐανάκλητα ᾖ. εἶναι δὲ χρὴ τοιαύδε, Ψυχή,
 Θυμός, Πόρπαξ, Στύραξ, Λόγχη, Λόχος, Φρουρά,
 Φύλαξ, Τάξις, Ξίφων, Φόριαξ, Φλέγων, Ἀλκή,
 Τεύχων, Ὀργή,
 Βρέμων, Ἡβα,
 Γηθεύς, Βία,
 Στίχων, Σπούδῃ, Βρύας, Οἰνάς, Στερρός, Κραύγη,
 Καίνων, Τύρβας, Σθένων, Αἰθήρ, Ἀκτίς, Αἰχμή,
 Νόης, Γνώμη, Στίβων, Ὀρμή.
- 6 Ἄγειν δὲ τὰς σκυλάκας ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον
 τὰς μὲν θηλείας ὀκταμήνους, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας
 δεκαμήνους· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἵχνη τὰ εὐναῖα μὴ λύειν,

¹ κυοῦσι δ AB: κυοῦσιν S. with M.

² τα A: S omits with BM.

³ τοῖς added from Arrian: S omits.

become pregnant When they are near their time do not take them out hunting continually, but only now and then, or love of work may result in a miscarriage The period of gestation is sixty days After the birth of the puppies leave them with the 3 mother and do not place them under another bitch, for nursing by a foster mother does not promote growth, whereas the mother's milk and breath do them good, and they like her caresses As soon as the 4 puppies can get about, give them milk for a year, and the food that will form their regular diet, and nothing else For heavy feeding warps the puppies' legs and sows the seeds of disease in the system, and their insides go wrong

Give the hounds short names, so as to be able 5 to call to them easily The following are the right sort Psyche, Thymus, Porpax, Styrax, Lonché, Lochus, Phrura, Phylax, Taxis, Xiphon, Phonax, Phlegon, Alcé, Teuchon, Hyleus, Medas, Porthon, Sperchon, Orgé, Bremon, Hybris, Thallon, Rhomé, Antheus, Hebe, Getheus, Chara, Leusson, Augo, Polys, Bri, Stichon, Spude, Bryas, Oenas, Sterrus, Craugé, Caenon, Tyrbas, Sthenon, Aether, Actis, Aechmé, Noes, Gnomé, Stubon, Hormé¹

Take the bitches to the hunting ground at eight 6 months, the dogs at ten Do not slip them on the

— " " " " colour, strength, spirit,
Hebe and Psyche are
and modern equivalents
of several of the other names are in use, e.g. Lance
(Lonché) Sentinel (Phylax), Festasy (Chara), Blue-kin
(Oenas) Crafty (Medas) Hasty (Sperchon), Vigorous (Thal-
lon), Impetus (Hormé), Counsellor (Noes), Bustler ('og) or
Hasty (bitch), cf. Sperchon. For Πολυς we should probably
read Πολων, ' Rover."

- ἄλλ' ἔχοιτα ἰφημένας μακροῖς ἱμάσιν ἀκο-
 λουθεῖν ταῖς κυσὶν ἰχνεύουσας, ζῶντα αὐτὰς
 7 διατρέχειν τὰ ἵχνη. καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὁ λαγῶς
 εὐρίσκηται, ἐὰν μὲν καλά ὦσι πρὸς τὸν δρόμον
 τὰ εἶδη, μὴ ἀνιέναι εὐθύς· ἐπειδὴν δὲ προλάβῃ
 ὁ λαγῶς τῷ δρόμῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἐφορᾶν ἔτι αὐτόν,
 8 τὰς σκύλακας ἰέναι. ἐὰν γὰρ ὁμόθεν καλὰς τὰ
 εἶδη οὖσας καὶ εὐψύχους πρὸς τὸν δρόμον ἐπιλύη,
 ὁρῶσαι τὸν λαγῶν ἐπτείνόμεναι ῥήγνυνται, οὐπω
 ἔχουσαι συνιστῶτα τὰ σώματα· διαφυλάττειν
 9 οὖν δεῖ τοῦτο τὸν κυνηγέτην. ἐὰν δὲ αἰσχίους
 ὦσι πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἰέναι· εὐθύς
 γὰρ δὴ ἀνέλπιστοι οὖσαι τοῦ ἐλεῖν οὐ πείσονται
 τοῦτο. τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα τῶν ἱχνῶν, ἕως ἂν ἔλῃσι,
 μεταθεῖν ἑῶν· ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ διδόναι
 10 αὐταῖς ἀναρρηγιῦναι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ μηκέτι θέλωσι
 προσμένειν [ταῖς ἄρκυσι],¹ ἀλλ' ἀποσκεδαν-
 νύωνται, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἕως ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν εὐρί-
 σκειν προσθέουσαι τὸν λαγῶν, μὴ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ
 αἰεὶ τοῦτον ζητοῦσαι τελευτῶσαι γίγνονται
 ἔκκυνοι, πονηρὸν μάθημα.
 11 Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄρκυσι διδόναι τὰ σιτία αὐταῖς,
 ἕως ἂν νέαι ὦσιν, ὅταν ἀναιρῶνται, ἵν' ἐὰν πλα-
 νηθῶσιν ἐν τῇ κυνηγεσίῳ δι' ἀπειρίαν, πρὸς τοῦτο
 ἐπανιοῦσαι σῶζονται. ἀφεθήσονται δὲ τούτου,
 ὅταν ἤδη τῷ θηρίῳ ἔχῃσι πολεμίως, ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ

¹ The MSS add τῷ ἵχνει after ἔλῃσι above, but it is
 rightly omitted by S after Dindorf: here too ταῖς ἄρκυσι
 must be omitted, or changed, with Richards, to τοῖς ἵχνεσιν

² But how is the hunter to know whether the hounds are
 on the trail leading to the form or on the track of a running
 hare?

trail that leads to the form, but keep them in long leashes and follow the tracking hounds, letting the youngsters run to and fro in the tracks¹ As soon as 7 the hare is found, if they shape well for the run don't let them go at once, but as soon as the hare has got so far ahead in the run that they can't see her, send them along For if the huntsman slips good looking, 8 plucky runners close to the hare, the sight of her will cause them to strain themselves and crack, since their bodies are not yet firm So he should be very careful about this But if they are 9 poor runners there is no reason why he should not let them go, for as they have no hope of catching the hare from the first, they will not meet with this accident On the other hand, let the youngsters follow the track of the hare on the run until they catch her, and when she is caught, give her to them to break up² As soon as they 10 show reluctance to stick to it and begin scattering, call them in, until they grow accustomed to keep on till they find the hare, lest if they get into the way of misbehaving when they seek her, they end by becoming skirthers—a vile habit.

Give them their food near the purse nets so 11 long as they are young, while the nets are being taken up, so that if they have gone astray in the hunting ground, through inexperience, they may come back safe for their meal This will be discontinued when they come to regard the game as an enemy,

² Not to eat Some hunters object more or less strongly to this injunction, but Beckford (*Thoughts on Hunting*), quoted by Blane, goes so far as to say, "I think it but reasonable to give the hounds a hare sometimes I always gave mine the last they killed, if I thought they deserved her"

12 ποιήσονται τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνου φροινίξιν
 χρη δὲ καὶ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δεομαίαις¹ διδόναι τὰ
 ἐπιτηδεια ταῖς κυσὶ αὐτοὶ ὅταν μὲν γὰρ μὴ²
 εἰδεῖς ὥσι, του-ου τοὶ αἴτιον οὐκ ἴσασι, ὅ-αι
 δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσαι λαβῶσι, τοὶ δίδοντα στέργουσι

VIII Ἰχνευσθαι δὲ τοὺς λαγῶς, ὅταν ἰίφη
 ὁ θεός, ὥστε ἠφαιίσθαι τῇ γῇ εἰ δ' ἐνεσται
 μελαγχιμα, δυσζήτητος ἴσται ἔστι δε, ὅταν
 μὲν ἐπιεφῇ³ καὶ ἡ βορειον, τὰ ἰχνη ἔξω πολὺν
 χρόνον δῆλα οὐ γὰρ ταχυ συντήκεται ἔαν δε
 νοτιόν τε ἡ καὶ ἥλιος ἐπιλάμ-η, ὀλιγοὶ χροῖον
 ταχυ γαρ διαχεῖται

Ὅταν δ' ἐπινιφη συνεχῶς, οὐδεν δεῖ επικα
 λύπτει γαρ οὐδ' εἰς πνεῦμα ἡ μέγα συμφороῦν
 2 γὰρ τὴν χιονα ἀφανίζει κυνας μὲν οὖν οὐδεν
 δεῖ ἔχοι τα ἐξιεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θηραν ταυτην ἡ γαρ
 χιων καιει τῶν κυνῶν τὰς ῥίνας, τοὺς ποδας, τὴν
 οσμήν τοῦ λαγῶ ἀφανίζει διὰ το ὑπερπαγες
 λαβοντα δε τὰ δικτυα μετ' ἄλλου ἐλθοντα προς
 τα ὄρη παριεναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐπειδὰν
 3 λαβη τα ἰχνη, πορευεσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα εἰς δ'
 ἐπηλλαγμενα ἡ, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν παλιν εἰς το
 αὐτο ἦκοντα κυκλους ποιουμενον ἐκπεριμεναι τὰ
 τοιαῦτα, ζητοῦντα ὅποι ἔξεισι πολλά δε πλα
 ιᾶται ο λαγῶς ἀπορουμενος ὅπου κατακλιθῇ
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἴθισται τεχναζειν τῇ βαδίσει δια
 4 το διωκεσθαι αἰς ἀπο τῶν τοιουτων ἐπειδαν
 δε φανῇ το ἰχνος, προϊέναι εἰς το πρόσθεν ἄξει
 δε ἡ προς συσκιον τοπον ἡ προς ἀποκρημνον
 τα γαρ πνευματα ὑτερφορεῖ τὴν χιόνα ὑπερ τῶν

¹ δεομενα : A S omits with BM

² μὴ added by Gesner S omits

they will be too intent on that to worry about their food. As a rule when they are hungry the master 12 should feed the hounds himself; for when they are not hungry they do not know to whom that is due; but when they want food and get it, they love the giver.

VIII Track the hare when it snows so hard that the ground is covered, but if there are black spaces, she will be hard to find. When it is cloudy and the wind is in the north, the tracks lie plain on the surface for a long time, because they melt slowly, but only for a short time if the wind is south and the sun shines, since they soon melt away.

But when it snows without stopping, don't attempt it, since the tracks are covered, nor when there is a high wind, since they are buried in the snowdrifts it causes. On no account have the hounds 2 out with you for this kind of sport, for the snow freezes their noses and feet, and destroys the scent of the hare owing to the hard frost. But take the hares, and go with a companion to the mountains, passing over the cultivated land, and as soon as the tracks are found, follow them. If they are 3 complicated, go back from the same ones to the same place and work round in circles and examine them, trying to find where they lead. The hare roams about uncertain where to rest, and, moreover, it is her habit to be tricky in her movements, because she is constantly being pursued in this manner. As soon as the track is clear, push straight 4 ahead. It will lead either to a thickly wooded spot or to a steep declivity. For the gusts of wind

* *ἐπινέφω* van Leeuwen *ἐπινίφω* S with the MSS

τοιοῦτων. παραλείπεται οὖν εὐνάσιμα πολλά·
 5 ζητεῖ δὲ τοῦτο. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὰ ἵχνη πρὸς τὰ
 τοιαῦτα φέρη, μὴ προσιέναι ἐγγύς, ἵνα μὴ
 ὑποκινή, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ ἐκπεριέναι. ἐλπίς γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ εἶναι. δῆλον δ' ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ ἵχνη ἀπὸ
 6 τῶν τοιοῦτων οὐδαμοῦ περάσει. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ
 σαφὲς ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, εἰ μὲν γάρ· ἕτερον
 δὲ ζητεῖν, πρὶν τὰ ἵχνη ἄδηλα γενέσθαι, τῆς
 ὥρας ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἑτέρους εὕρισκῃ,
 7 ἔσται ἡ λειπομένη ἱκανὴ περιστήσασθαι. ἤκοντος
 δὲ τούτου περιτείνειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη τὰ δίκτυα
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥνπερ ἐν τοῖς μελαγχίμοις,
 περιλαμβάνοντα ἐντὸς πρὸς ὅτῳ ἂν ᾖ, καὶ
 8 ἐπειδὴν ἐστηκότα ἡ, προσελθόντα κινεῖν. εἰ
 δὲ ἐκκυλισθῇ ἐκ τῶν δικτύων, μεταθεῖν κατὰ τὰ
 ἵχνη· ὁ δὲ ἀφίξεται πρὸς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα χωρία,
 εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χιόνι πιέσῃ ἑαυτόν.
 σκεψάμενον οὖν δεῖ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ περιστάσθαι.
 εἰ μὴ δὲ μὴ ὑπομένη, μεταθεῖν· ἀλώσεται γὰρ καὶ
 ἄνευ τῶν δικτύων· ταχὺ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύει διὰ
 τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος καὶ διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν τῶν
 ποδῶν λασίων ὄντων προσέχεσθαι αὐτῷ ὄγκον
 πολύν.

ΙΧ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς νεβροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους
 κύνας εἶναι Ἰνδικάς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἰσχυραί, μεγάλαι,
 ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι· ἔχουσαι δὲ ταῦτα ἱκαναί
 γίγνονται πονεῖν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν νεογνοὺς τῶν

¹ The object is to make sure whether the track really does end there or not. If it does, he is to go on to seek another hare. "My father used to relate that in his student days an old forester on his brother-in-law's estate, when he wanted to make sure of supplying a hare for his master's visitors,

carry the snow over such places, consequently many resting places are left, and she looks for one of these. As soon as the tracks lead to such a place, don't go 5 near, or she will move off, but go round and explore¹. For she is probably there, and there will be no doubt about the matter, since the tracks will nowhere run out from such places. As soon as it is evident that she is there, 6 leave her—for she will not stir—and look for another before the tracks become obscure, and take care, in case you find others, that you will have enough daylight left to surround them with nets. When the time has come, stretch the hayes round 7 each of them in the same way as in places where no snow lies, enclosing anything she may be near, and as soon as they are up, approach and start her. If she wriggles out of the hayes, run after her along 8 the tracks. She will make for other places of the same sort, unless indeed she squeezes herself into the snow itself. Wherever she may be, mark the place and surround it, or, if she doesn't wait, continue the pursuit. For she will be caught even without the hayes, for she soon tires owing to the depth of the snow, and because large lumps of it cling to the bottom of her hairy feet.

IX For hunting fawns and deer² use Indian³ hounds, for they are strong, big, speedy and plucky, and these qualities render them capable of hard

would surround the hare's form in the early morning and the hare would not leave her form for hours.⁴ A. H. Rie (*Hermes*, 1918 p. 317)

¹ The red deer is meant. Hunting the calves immediately after their birth seems a poor game but no doubt they were good eating.

² Thibet dogs, called by Grattius (159) Sereæ.

νεβρῶν τοῦ ἥρος θηρᾶν· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὥραν
 2 γίνονται. κατασκέψασθαι δὲ πρότερον προ-
 ελθόντα εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας, οὐ εἰσιν ἔλαφοι πλεῖ-
 σται· ὅπου δ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἔχοντα τὸν κυναγωγὸν
 τὰς κύνας καὶ ἀκόντια πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐλθόντα εἰς
 τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τὰς μὲν κύνας δῆσαι ἄποθεν
 ἐκ τῆς ὕλης, ὅπως μὴ, ἂν ἴδωσι τὰς ἐλάφους,
 3 ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ σκοπιωρεῖσθαι. ἅμα δὲ
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὄψεται ἀγούσας τοὺς νεβροὺς πρὸς τὸν
 τόπον, οὗ ἂν μέλλῃ ἐκάστη τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐνάσειν.
 κατακλίναςαι δὲ καὶ γάλα δοῦσαι καὶ διασκε-
 ψάμεναι, μὴ ὀρώνται ὑπὸ τινος, φυλάττει τὸν
 ἑαυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἀντιπέρας.
 4 ἰδόντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν κύνας λῦσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ
 λαβόντα ἀκόντια προίεναι ἐπὶ τὸν νεβρὸν τὸν
 πρῶτον, ὅπου εἶδεν εὐνασθέντα, τῶν τόπων
 ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως μὴ διαμαρτήσεται· πολὺ γὰρ
 ἀλλοιοῦνται τῇ ὄψει ἐγγὺς προσιόντι ἢ οἷοι
 5 πόρρωθεν ἔδοξαν εἶναι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτόν,
 προσιέναι ἐγγύς. ὃ δ' ἔξει ἀτρέμα πῖσας ὥς
 ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ εὔσει ἀνελέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐφυσμένος
 ᾖ, βοῶν μέγα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οὐ μενεῖ·
 ταχὺ γὰρ τὸ ὑγρόν, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ψυχροῦ συνιστάμενον ποιεῖ ἀποχωρεῖν αὐτόν.
 6 ἀλώσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν σὺν πόρῳ διωκό-
 μενος· λαβόντα δὲ δοῦναι τῷ ἀρκυνῶ· ὃ δὲ
 βοήσεται· ἢ δ' ἔλαφος τὰ μὲν ἰδοῦσα, τὰ δ'
 ἀκούσασα ἐπιδραμεῖται τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτὸν ζητοῦσα
 7 ὑφελέσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐγκελεύειν ταῖς
 κυσὶ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀκοντίοις. κρατήσαντα
 δὲ τούτου πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ
 τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῆς θήρας.

work Hunt the calves in spring, since they are born at that season First go to the meadows and reconnoitre, to discover where hinds are most plentiful Wherever they are, let the keeper of the hounds¹ go with the hounds and javelins to this place before daybreak and tie up the dogs to trees some distance off, so that they may not catch sight of the hinds and bark, and let him watch from a coln of vantage At daybreak he will see every dam leading her fawn to the place where she means to lay it When they have put them down, suckled them, and looked about to make sure that they are not seen, they move away into the offing and watch their calves On seeing this, let him loose the dogs, and taking the javelins approach the spot where he saw the nearest fawn laid, carefully observing the positions so as not to make a mistake, since they look quite different when approached from what they seemed to be at a distance As soon as he sees the fawn, let him go close up to it It will keep still, squeezing its body tight against the ground, and will let itself be lifted, bleating loudly, unless it is wet through, in which case it will not stay, since the rapid condensation of the moisture in its body by the cold causes it to make off But it will be caught by the hounds if hotly pursued Having taken it, let him give it to the net keeper It will cry out, and the sight and the sound between them will bring the hind running up to the holder, in her anxiety to rescue it That is the moment to set the hounds on her, and ply the javelins Having settled this one, let him proceed to tackle the rest, hunting them in the same manner

¹ The "Keeper of hounds" has not been mentioned in connection with hare hunting Apparently he is the person to whom all these instructions are addressed

- 8 Καὶ οἱ μὲν γέοι τῶν γεβρῶν οὕτως ἀλίσκονται· οἱ δὲ ἤδη μεγάλοι χαλεπῶς· νέμονται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν μητέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλάφων· καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν, ὅταν διώκωται, ἐν μέσαις, ὅτε
- 9 δὲ πρόσθεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὕπισθεν ὀλιγάκις. αἱ δ' ἐλαφοὶ τὰς κύνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμεναι καταπατοῦσιν· ὥστ' οὐκ εὐάλωτοί εἰσιν, ἐὰν μὴ προσμείξας τις εὐθύς διασκεδάσῃ αὐτὰς ἀπ'
- 10 ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μονωθῆναι τινα αὐτῶν. βιασθεῖσαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν πρῶτον δρόμον αἱ κύνες ἀπολείπονται· ἢ τε γὰρ ἄπουσία τῶν ἐλάφων ποιεῖ αὐτὸν περίφοβον τό τε τάχος οὐδενὶ ἐοικός ἐστι τῶν τηλικούτων νεβρῶν· δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τρίτῳ δρόμῳ ταχὺ ἀλίσκονται· τὰ γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἔτι νεαρὰ εἶναι τῷ πόνῳ οὐ δύνανται ἀντέχειν.
- 11 Ἰστανται δὲ καὶ ποδοστράβαι ταῖς ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, περὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα καὶ τὰς νάπας ἐν ταῖς διόδοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις,
- 12 πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν προσίῃ. χρή δὲ εἶναι τὰς ποδοστράβας σμίλακος πεπλεγμένας, μὴ περιφλοῖους, ἵνα μὴ σήπωνται, τὰς δὲ στεφάνας εὐκύκλους ἐχούσας, καὶ τοὺς ἥλους ἐναλλάξ σιδηροῦς τε καὶ ξυλίνους ἐγκαταπεπλεγμένους ἐν τῷ πλοκάνῳ· μείζους δὲ τοὺς σιδηροῦς, ὅπως ἂν οἱ μὲν
- 13 ξύλινοι ὑπείκωσι τῷ ποδί, οἱ δὲ πιέζωσι. τὸν δὲ βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν στεφάνην ἐπιτεθησόμενον πεπλεγμένον σπάρτου καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σειρίδα· ἔστι γὰρ ἀσηπτότατον τοῦτο. ὁ δὲ βρόχος αὐτὸς ἔστω στιφρὸς καὶ ἡ σειρίς· τὸ δὲ ξύλον τὸ ἐξαπτόμενον ἔστω μὲν δρυὸς ἢ πρίνου,

Young fawns are caught by this method, but big ones are difficult to catch. For they graze with their dams and other deer, and when pursued they make off in the midst of them, or sometimes in front, but rarely in the rear. The hinds trample on the hounds in their efforts to defend their fawns, consequently it is not easy to catch them, unless a man gets amongst them at once¹ and scatters them, so that one of the fawns is isolated. The result of this strain on the hounds is that they are left behind in the first run, for the absence of the hinds fills the creature with terror, and the speed of fawns at that age is without parallel. But they are soon caught in the second or third run, since their bodies are still too young to stand the work.

Caltrops are set for deer in the mountains, about meadows and streams and glades, in alleys and cultivated lands that they frequent. The caltrops should be made of plaited yew, stripped of the bark, so as not to rot. They should have circular crowns, and the nails should be of iron and wood alternately, plaited into the rim,² the iron nails being the longer, so that the wooden ones will yield to the foot and the others hurt it. The noose of the cord to be laid on the crown and the cord itself should be of woven *sparto*,³ since this is rot proof. The noose itself and the cord must be strong, and the clog attached must be of common or evergreen oak, twenty seven inches

¹ The author has omitted to explain how this is to be done.

² The "rim" (an unsatisfactory rendering) is the same thing as the crown.

³ Yates (*Textrinum Antiquorum*) considers that *sparto* is the Spanish broom (*genista*) and not the grass (*stipa tenuissima*) now called *esparto*.

μέγεθος τρισπίθαμον, περίφλοιον, πάχος παλαιστῆς.

- 14 Ἰστάναι δὲ τὰς ποδοστράβας διελόντα τῆς γῆς βάθος πεντεπάλαιστον, περιφερὲς δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄνωθεν ἶσον ταῖς στεφάναις τῶν ποδοστραβῶν, εἰς δὲ τὸ κάτω ἀμειβόμενον στενότητι· διελεῖν δὲ καὶ τῇ σειρίδι καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἵζεσθαι
- 15 ἀμφοῖν. ποιήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βάθος τὴν ποδοστράβην ἐπιθεῖναι κατωτέρω ἰσόπεδον, περὶ δὲ τὴν στέγην¹ τὸν βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ξύλον καθέντα εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐκατέρου, τῇ στέγῃ ἐπιθεῖναι δοκίδας ἀτρακτυλίδος μὴ ὑπερτείνουσας εἰς τὸ ἔξω, ἐπὶ δὲ
- 16 τούτων πέταλα λεπτά, ὧν ἂν ἡ ὥρα ᾖ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπιπολῆς ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀρυγμάτων, ἄνωθεν δὲ γῆς στερεᾶς τῆς ἀποθεν, ἵνα ᾖ τῇ ἐλάφῳ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄδηλος ἡ στάσις· τὴν δὲ περιούσαν τῆς γῆς ἀποφέρειν πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ποδοστράβης. εἰάν γὰρ ὁσφραίνεται νεωστὶ κεκινημένης. δυσωπείται· ταχὺ δὲ ποιεῖ τοῦτο.
- 17 ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ ἔχοντα τὰς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐστώσας, μάλιστα μὲν ἔωθεν, χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις πρωί. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὄρεσιν οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλίσκονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς νυκτὸς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν πεφοβῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
- 18 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὖρῃ ἀνεστραμμένην τὴν ποδοστράβην, μεταθεῖν ἐπιλύσαντα τὰς κύνας καὶ ἐπικελεύσαντα κατὰ τὸν ὅλκον τοῦ ξύλου, σκοπούμενον ὅπου ἂν φέρηται. ἔσται δὲ οὐκ ἄδηλον

long, not stripped of the bark, and three inches thick

To set the caltrops make a round hole in the 14 ground fifteen inches deep, of the same size at the top as the crowns of the trips, but tapering towards the bottom. Make shallow drills in the ground for the cord and the clog to lie in. Having done this lay 15 the caltrop on the hole a little below the surface, and level, and put the noose of the cord round the top. Having laid the cord and the clog in their places, lay spindle wood twigs on the top, not letting them stick out beyond the circle, and on these any light leaves in season. Next throw some earth on them, 16 beginning with the surface soil taken from the holes, and on top of this some unbroken soil from a distance, in order that the position may be completely concealed from the deer. Remove any earth remaining over to a place some distance from the caltrop, for if the deer smells earth recently disturbed, it shies, and it is not slow to smell it. Accompanied 17 by the hounds inspect the traps set in the mountains, preferably at daybreak (but it should be done also at other times during the day), in the cultivated lands early. For in the mountains deer may be caught in the daytime as well as at night owing to the solitude, but on cultivated land only at night, because they are afraid of human beings in the daytime.

On coming across a caltrop upset, slip the hounds 18 give them a bark forward, and follow along the track of the clog, noticing which way it runs. That

¹ στεγήν and (presently) στεγήν A στεφάνην and στεφανῶν S with M

ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἷ τε γὰρ λίθοι ἔσονται κεκινημένοι
τὰ τ' ἐπισύρματα τοῦ ξύλου καταφαινῇ ἐν τοῖς
ἔργοις ἐὰν δὲ τραχεῖς τοποὺς διατερᾷ, αἱ ἑτέραι
ἔξουσιν τοὶ φλοιοὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἀφηρησμέων καὶ
κατὰ τοῦτο ῥῆσιν αἱ μεταδρομαὶ ἔσονται

19 Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τοῦ προσθίου ποδὸς ἀλῶ, ταχὺ
ληφθήσεται ἐν γὰρ τῷ δρόμῳ τὰν τὸ σῶμα
τύπτει καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθίου,
ἐφελκόμενον τὸ ξύλον ἐμποδὼν ὅλῳ ἐστὶ τῷ
σωματι ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ εἰς δικρόας τῆς ὕλης
ἐμπίπτει φερόμεον, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀπορρηξῇ τὴν
20 σειρίδα, καταλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ χρῆ δ' εἰ
οὕτως ἔλη ἢ περιγενομένου πόνῳ, μὴ προσεῖται
ἐγγὺς τοῖς γὰρ κερασι παῖει ἐὰν μὲν ἢ ἄρρην,¹
καὶ τοῦ ποδοῖν ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια τοῖν ποδοῖν
ἄποθεν οὖν ἀκοντίζειν

Ἀλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ἄνευ ποδοστράβης διωκό
μεναι, ὅταν ἢ ἡ ὥρα θερινή ἡπαγορεύουσι γὰρ
σφόδρα ὥστε ἐστῶσαι ἀκοντίζονται ριπτοῦσι
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν θαλάτταν, ἐὰν κατέχωνται, καὶ εἰς
τὰ ὕδατα ἀπορουμεναι ὅτε δὲ διὰ δυσπνοιαν
πίπτουσι

X Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕν τὸν ἄγριον κεκτῆσθαι κύνας
Ἰνδικας, Κρητικάς, Λοκρίδας, Λακαίνας, ἄρκυς,
ἀκοιτία, προβολία ποδοστράβας πρῶτον μὲν
οὖν χρῆ εἶναι τὰς κύνας ἑκάστου² γένους μὴ τὰς
ἐπιτυχουσας, ἵνα ἕτοιμα ᾧσι πολεμεῖν τῷ θηρίῳ
2 αἱ δὲ ἄρκυς λινῶν μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ὥνπερ αἱ τῶν
λαγῶν, ἔστωσαν δὲ πεντεκαίτετταρακοντάλινοι

¹ *ἢ ἄρρην* follows *πόνῳ* in S and the MSS Diels saw that it belongs here M has *το ε προσ* and omits *ἐὰν δε θήλεια το ε ποδο* by oversight and so S

will be clear enough for the most part for the stones will be displaced and the trail of the clog will be obvious in the cultivated ground, and if the deer crosses rough places, there will be fragments of bark torn from the clog on the rocks, and the pursuit will be all the easier.

If the deer is caught by the fore-foot it will soon 19 be taken, as it hits every part of its body and its face with the clog during the run, or if by the hind-leg, the dragging of the clog hampers the whole body, and sometimes it dashes into forked branches of trees, and unless it breaks the cord, is caught on the spot. But, whether you catch it in this way or by 20 wearing it out, don't go near it, for it will butt, if it's a stag, and kick, and if it's a hind, it will kick. So throw javelins at it from a distance.

In the summer months they are also caught by pursuit without the aid of a caltrop, for they get dead beat, so that they are hit standing. When hard pressed, they will even plunge into the sea and into pools in their bewilderment, and occasionally they drop from want of breath.

X. For hunting the wild boar provide yourself with Indian, Cretan, Locrian and Laconian¹ hounds, boar nets, javelins, spears and caltrops. In the first place the hounds of each breed must be of high quality, that they may be qualified to fight the beast. The 2 nets must be made of the same flax as those used for hares, of forty-five threads woven in three strands.

¹ i.e. Laconian hounds of the Castorian variety, see *op. cit.* § 5.

² *ἰκίονον* from the text as quoted by Aristotle. *de revoc.* vol. 5 with the MSS.

ἐκ τριῶν -οίων, ἕκαστος δὲ τοῖος ἐκ πεντεκαίδεκα
λίωι, ἃ-ὃ δὲ -οὐ κοριφαίου το μέγεθος, δεχάμ
ματοι, -ὃ δὲ βαιῶς τῶι βροχῶι -υγίοις οἱ δὲ
τερλίδρομοι ἡμιόλιοι τοῦ τῆι ἀρκύναι -άγους ἐ-
ἄκροις δὲ ἑακτυλίους ἐχέ-ωσαι, ὑφείσθωσαν δ
ὑ-ὃ -οὐς βρόχους, τὸ δὲ ἄκροι αὐτῶν ἐκ-ερατω
ἔξω διὰ τῶι ἑακτυλίωι ἱκαίαι¹ δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα

3 Ἰὰ δὲ ἀκόιτια ἔστω -αιτοδατά, ἔχοι-α τας
λόγγας εὐτλατεῖς καὶ ξυρηκεῖς, ῥαβδους δὲ
στιφράς τὰ δὲ -ροβολα -ρῶτοι μεν λόγγας
ἔχοι-α τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεταλαιστους, κατὰ δὲ
μέσον τὸν αὐλὸν κιωδοντας ἁτοκεχαλκευμείους,
στιφρούς, καὶ τὰς ῥαβδους κρανειας δορατοσταχεῖς
αἱ δὲ ποδοστράβαι ὅμοιαι ταῖς τῶν ἐλαφῶν
συγκυνηγεται δ' ἔστωσαν το γαρ θηρίον μολις
καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀλίσκεται ὅπως δὲ δεῖ τούτων
ἐκάστῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς θηραι, διδαξω

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθοντας οὐ ἂν οἶωνται²
ὑπάγειν το κυνηγέσιον, λύσαντας μίαν τῶν
κυνῶν τῶν Λακαινῶν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἔχοντας δεδε
5 μένας συμπεριμεναι τῇ κυνί ἐπειδὴν δὲ λαβη
αὐτοῦ τὰ ἴχνη, ἔπεσθαι ἐξῆς τῇ ἰχνευσει ηγου
μένῃ ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς³ ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῖς
κυνηγεταις πολλὰ δῆλα αὐτοῦ, ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαλα-

¹ ἱκανοὶ S with A

² εἶναι which S* and the MSS add after οἶωνται was removed by Pierleoni

³ ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς A ἀκολουθῆς S with B ἀκολουθίαν M

⁴ This means I believe ten meshes so that the net would be about 150 inches high Otto Manns (*Über die Jagd bei den*

ON HUNTING, x 2-5

each strand containing fifteen threads. The height should be ten knots, counted from the top,¹ and the depths of the meshes fifteen inches. The ropes at top and bottom must be half as thick again as the nets. There must be metal rings at the elbows, and the ropes must be inserted under the meshes, and their ends must pass out through the rings.² Fifteen nets are sufficient.³

The javelins must be of every variety, the blades³ broad and keen, and the shafts strong. The spears must have blades fifteen inches long, and stout teeth at the middle of the socket, forged in one piece but standing out, and their shafts must be of cornel wood, as thick as a military spear. The caltrops must be similar to those used in hunting deer. There must be several huntsmen, for the task of capturing the beast is no light one even for a large number of men. I will now explain how to use each portion of the outfit in hunting.

First then, when the company reach the place⁴ where they suppose the game to lurk, let them slip one of the Laconian hounds, and taking the others in leash, go round the place with the hound. As⁵ soon as she has found his tracks, let the field follow, one behind another, keeping exactly to the line of the track. The huntsmen also will find many evi-

Grieschen), however, thinks that the net was five feet high only, i.e. four meshes (cf. c. iv § 5), but (1) it is hard to see how "four meshes" can be got out of "ten knots" and (2) the "bosom" (see § 7) requires a considerably greater height than five feet.

¹ The ends of the upper ropes appear to have been used for fastening the nets together.

² It is strange that the author does not state the length of the nets.

- κοῖς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἱχνη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λασίοις τῆς
 ὕλης κλάσματα· ὅπου δ' ἂν δένδρα ἦ, πληγαὶ
 6 τῶν ὀδόντων. ἡ δὲ κύων ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀφίξεται
 τόπον ὑλώδη ἱχνεύουσα. κατακλίνεται γὰρ τὸ
 θηρίον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἰς τοιαῦτα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ
 χειμῶνός ἐστιν ἄλσεινά, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ψυχρινά.
 7 ἔπειδ' ἂν ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐίην, ὑλακτεῖ· ὁ δ'
 οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὡς τὰ πολλά. λαβόντα οὖν τὴν
 κύνα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δῆσαι ἀποθεν
 ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς πολὺ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὄρμους ἐμβάλ-
 λεσθαι τὰς ἄρκυς, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοὺς βρόχους
 ἐπὶ ἀποσχαλιδώματα τῆς ὕλης δικρᾶ· τῆς δὲ
 ἄρκυος αὐτῆς μακρὸν προήκοντα κόλπον ποιεῖν,
 ἀντηρίδας ἐνδοθεν ἐκατέρωθεν ὑφιστάντα κλῶνας,
 ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τῶν βρόχων αἱ αὐγαὶ
 τοῦ φέγγους ὡς μάλιστα ἐνέχωσιν, ἵνα προσ-
 θέοντι ὡς φανότατον ἢ τὸ ἔσω· καὶ τὸν περί-
 δρομον ἐξάπτειν ἀπὸ δένδρου ἰσχυροῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκ
 ῥάχου συνέχονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ῥάχοι.
 ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκάστης ἐμφράττειν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τὰ
 δύσορμα, ἵνα εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ποιῇται τὸν δρόμον
 μὴ ἐξαλλάττων.
 8 Ἐπειδ' ἂν δὲ στῶσιν, ἐλθόντας πρὸς τὰς κύνας
 λῦσαι ἀπάσας καὶ λαβόντας τὰ ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ
 προβόλια προϊέναι. ἐγκελεύειν δὲ ταῖς κυσὶν
 εἶα τὸν ἐμπειρότατον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔπασθαι
 κοσμίως ἀπολείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πολὺ, ὅπως
 ἂν ἢ αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ διαδρομή· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑποχωρῶν
 ἐμπέσῃ εἰς πυκνοὺς, κίνδυνος πληγῆναι· ὥ γὰρ
 ἂν προσπέσῃ, εἰς τοῦτον τὴν ὀργὴν κατέθετο.

¹ The text is doubtful I now think *συγκλῶνται* probable
 for *συνέχονται*.

dences of the quarry, the tracks in soft ground, broken branches where the bushes are thick, and marks of his tusks wherever there are trees. The hound 6 following the track will, as a rule, arrive at a well-wooded spot. For the beast usually lies in such places, since they are warm in winter and cool in summer. As soon as the hound reaches the lair, she will bark. But in most cases the boar will not 7 get up. So take the hound and tie her up with the others at a good distance from the lair, and have the nets put up in the convenient anchorages, hanging the meshes on forked branches of trees. Out of the net itself make a long projecting bosom, putting sticks inside to prop it up on both sides, so that the light of day may penetrate as much as possible into the bosom through the meshes, in order that the interior may be as light as possible when the boar rushes at it. Fasten the (lower) rope to a strong tree, not to a bush, since the bushes give way at the bare stem.¹ Wherever there is a gap between a net and the ground,² fill in the places that afford no anchorage with wood, in order that the boar may rush into the net, and not slip out.

As soon as they are in position, let the party go to 8 the hounds and loose them all, and take the javelins and the spears and advance. Let one man, the most experienced, urge on the hounds, while the others follow in regular order, keeping well behind one another, so that the boar may have a free passage between them; for should he beat a retreat and dash into a crowd, there is a risk of being gored, since he spends his rage on anyone he encounters.

¹ The text is again uncertain, but the sense is clear. I incline to *ἐν τῷ δ' ἐκδοτέῳ*.

- 9 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ αἱ κύνες ἐγγὺς ὥσι τῆς εὐνῆς, ἐπεισίσαι· θορυβούμενος δ' ἐξαναστήσεται, καὶ ἥτις ἂν τῶν κυνῶν προσφέρηται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ πρῶσωπον, ἀναρρίψει· θέων δ' ἐμπεσεῖται· ἂν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν ἀνάγκη. καὶ ἂν μὲν ἦ τὸ χωρίον καταφερές, ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἔχη αὐτὸν ἡ ἄρκυς, ταχὺ ἐξαναστήσεται. ἂν δὲ ἄπεδον, εὐθύς
- 10 ἐστήξει περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων. ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ αἱ μὲν κύνες προσκείμεναι· αὐτοὺς δὲ χρὴ φυλαττομένους αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζειν καὶ λίθοις βάλλειν, περισταμένους ὀπισθεν καὶ πολὺ ἄποθεν, ἕως ἂν κατατείνῃ πρῶθ' αὐτὸν τῆς ἄρκυος τὸν περίδρομον. εἴτα ὅστις ἂν ἦ τῶν παρόιτων ἐμπειρότατος καὶ ἐγκρατέστατος, προσελθόντα
- 11 ἐκ τοῦ πρῶσθεν τῷ προβόλιῳ παίειν. ἂν δὲ μὴ βούληται ἀκοντιζόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος κατατείνειν τὸν περίδρομον, ἀλλ' ἐπανιεὶς ἔχη πρὸς τὸν προσιόντα περιδρομὴν ποιούμενος, ἀνάγκη, ὅταν οὕτως ἔχη, λαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι, ἔχεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν χειρὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ πρόσθεν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρα ὀπισθεν· κατορθοῖ γὰρ ἢ μὲν ἀριστερὰ αὐτό, ἢ δὲ δεξιὰ ἐπεμβάλλει· ἐμπροσθεν δὲ ὁ πούς ὁ μὲν ἀριστερός ἐπέσθω τῇ
- 12 χειρὶ τῇ ὁμωνύμῳ, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς τῇ ἑτέρᾳ· προσιόντα δὲ προβάλλεσθαι τὸ προβόλιον μὴ πολλῷ μείζω διαβάντα ἢ ἐν πάλῃ, ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς πλευρὰς τὰς εὐωνύμους ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν εὐώνυμον, εἴτα εἰσβλέποντα εἰς τὸ ὄμμα τοῦ θηρίου, ἐνθυμούμενον τὴν κίνησιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἐκείνου. προσφέρειν δὲ τὸ προβόλιον φυλαττόμενον, μὴ ἐκκρούσῃ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκνεύσας· τῇ γὰρ ῥύμῃ τῆς ἐκκρούσεως ἔπεται.

As soon as the hounds are near the lair, they will go for him. The noise will cause him to get up, and he will toss any hound that attacks him in front. He will run and plunge into the nets, or if not, you must pursue him. If the ground where he is caught in the net is sloping, he will quickly get up, if it is level, he will immediately stand still, intent on himself. At this moment the hounds will press their attack, and the huntsmen must fling their javelins at him warily, and pelt him with stones, gathering round behind and a good way off, till he shoves hard enough to pull the rope of the net tight. Then let the most experienced and most powerful man in the field approach him in front and thrust his spear into him. If, in spite of javelins and stones, he refuses to pull the rope tight, but draws back, wheels round and marks his assulant, in that case the man must approach him spear in hand, and grasp it with the left in front and the right behind, since the left steadies while the right drives it. The left foot must follow the left hand forward, and the right foot the other hand. As he advances let him hold the spear before him, with his legs not much further apart than in wrestling, turning the left side towards the left hand, and then watching the beast's eye and noting the movement of the fellow's head. Let him present the spear, taking care that the boar doesn't knock it out of his hand with a jerk of his head, since he follows up the impetus of the

παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πίπτειν δεῖ ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ
 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὕλης κάτωθεν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίου εἰάν
 μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντι προσπέσῃ, διὰ τὴν σιμότητα
 τῶν ὀδόντων τὸ σῶμα οὐ δύναται ὑπολαβεῖν·
 εἰάν δὲ μετεώρῳ, ἀνάγκη πληγῆναι. πειράται
 μὲν οὖν μετεωρίζειν. εἰάν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, ἀμφιβὰς
 πατεῖ. ἀπαλλαγή δὲ τούτων μία ἐστὶ μόνη,
 ὅταν ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ ἔχῃται, προσελθόντα
 ἐγγὺς τῶν συγκυνηγετῶν ἓνα ἔχοντα προβόλιον
 ἐρεθίζειν ὥς ἀφήσοντα· ἀφίεναι δὲ οὐ χρή, μὴ
 τύχῃ τοῦ πεπτωκότας. ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ τοῦτο, κατα-
 λιπὼν ὃν ἂν ἔχῃ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρεθίζοντα ὑπ'
 ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπιστρέψει. τὸν δὲ ταχὺ ἀνα-
 πηδᾶν, τὸ δὲ προβόλιον μεμνήσθαι ἔχοντα ἀνί-
 στασθαι· οὐ γὰρ καλὴ ἡ σωτηρία ἄλλως ἢ
 κρατήσαντι. προσφέρειν δὲ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον καὶ προτείνειν ἐντὸς τῆς ὠμοπλάτης, ἥ ἢ
 σφαγῇ, καὶ ἀντερείσαντα ἔχειν ἐρρωμένως· ὃ δ'
 ὑπὸ τοῦ μένους πρόεισι, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύοιεν οἱ
 κνώδοντες τῆς λόγχης, ἀφίκοιτ' ἂν διὰ τῆς
 ῥάβδου προωθῶν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν τὸ προβόλιον
 ἔχοντα.

Οὕτω δὲ πολλὰ ἡ δύναμις ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε
 καὶ ἂν οὐκ ἂν οἴοιτό τις πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ· τε-
 θνεώτος γὰρ εὐθύς εἰάν τις ἐπὶ τὸν ὀδόντα ἐπιθῇ
 τρίχας, συντρέχουσιν· οὕτως εἰσὶ θερμοί· ζῶντι
 δὲ διάπυροι, ὅταν ἐρεθίζηται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τῶν
 κυνῶν ἀμαρτάνων τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ σώματος ἄκρα
 τὰ τριχώματα περιεπίμπρα.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄρρην τσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω

sudden knock In case this accident should happen, 13
 the man must fall on his face and clutch the
 undergrowth beneath him, for, if the beast attacks
 him in this position, he is unable to lift the man's
 body owing to the upward curve of his tusks, but if
 his body is off the ground, the man is certain to be
 gored. Consequently the boar tries to lift him up,
 and, if he cannot, he stands over and tramples on
 him. For a man in this critical situation there is 14
 only one escape from these disasters. One of his
 fellow huntsmen must approach with a spear and
 provoke the boar by making as though he would
 hurl it, but he must not hurl it, or he may hit the
 man on the ground. On seeing this the boar will 15
 leave the man under him and turn savagely and
 furiously on his tormentor. The other must jump up
 instantly, remembering to keep his spear in his hand as
 he rises, for safety without victory is not honourable.
 He must again present the spear in the same way as 16
 before, and thrust it inside the shoulder blade where
 the throat is, and push with all his might. The
 enraged beast will come on, and but for the teeth of
 the blade, would shove himself forward along the
 shaft far enough to reach the man holding the
 spear.

His strength is so great that he has some peculiar 17
 properties which one would never imagine him to
 possess. Thus, if you lay hairs on his tusks im-
 mediately after he is dead, they shrivel up, such is
 the heat of the tusks. While he is alive they become
 intensely hot whenever he is provoked, or the
 surface of the hounds' coats would not be singed
 when he tries to gore them and misses.

All this trouble, and even more, the male animal 18

πράγματα παρασχών ἀλίσκεται. ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια ἢ ἡ ἐμπεσοῦσα, ἐπιθέοντα παίειν φυλαττόμενον μὴ ὥσθεις πέσῃ· παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πατεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη καὶ δάκνεσθαι. ἐκόντα οὖν οὐ χρὴ ὑποπίπτειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ εἰς τοῦτο, διαναστάσεις γίνονται αἱ αὐταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρρενος· ἐξαναστάντα δὲ δεῖ παίειν τῷ προβολίῳ, ἕως ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ.

- 19 Ἀλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ὧδε. ἴστανται μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἄρκυς ἐπὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ναπῶν εἰς τοὺς δρυμούς, τὰ ἄγκη, τὰ τραχέα, ἢ εἰσβολαί εἰσιν εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας καὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ ὕδατα. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἔχων τὸ προβόλιον φυλάττει τὰς ἄρκυς. οἱ δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐπάγουσι τοὺς τόπους ζητοῦντες τοὺς καλλίστους· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εὗρεθῇ,
- 20 διώκεται. ἐὰν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἄρκυν ἐμπίπτῃ, τὸν ἄρκυωρὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι καὶ χρήσθαι ὡς εἶρηκα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐμπέσῃ, μεταθεῖν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἡ πνίγη, διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον καίπερ ὑπερβάλλον δυνάμει ἀπαγορεύει ὑπέρασθμον γιγνόμενον.
- 21 ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ κύνες πολλαὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ θήρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κυνηγέται κινδυνεύουσιν, ὅταν γέ¹ ἐν ταῖς μεταδρομαῖς ἀπειρηκότι ἀναγκάζωνται προσιέναι τὰ προβόλια ἢ ἐν ὕδατι ὄντι ἢ ἐφεστῶτι² πρὸς ἀποκρήμνω ἢ ἐκ δασέος μὴ θέλουντι ἐξιέει· οὐ γὰρ κωλύει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄρκυς οὔτε ἄλλα οὐδὲν φέρεσθαι ὁμόσε τῷ πλησιάζοντι· ὁμῶς μέντοι προσιτέον, ὅταν ἔχῃ αὐτως, καὶ ἐπιδεικτέον τὴν εὐψυχίαν, δι' ἣν
- 22 εἴλοιντο ἐκπονεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην. χρηστέον δὲ τῷ προβολίῳ καὶ ταῖς προβολαῖς τοῦ

causes before he is caught. If the creature in the toils is a sow, run up and stick her, taking care not to be knocked down. Such an accident is bound to result in your being trampled and bitten. So don't fall under her, if you can help it. If you get into that position unintentionally, the same aids to rise that are used to assist a man under a boar are employed. When on your feet again, you must ply the spear until you kill her.

Another way of capturing them is as follows 19 The nets are set up for them at the passages from glens into oak coppices, dells and rough places, on the outskirts of meadows, fens and sheets of water. The keeper, spear in hand, watches the nets. The huntsmen take the hounds and search for the likeliest places. As soon as the boar is found, he is pursued. If he falls into the net, the net-keeper must take 20 his spear, approach the boar, and use it as I have explained. The boar is also captured, in hot weather, when pursued by the hounds, for in spite of his prodigious strength, the animal tires with hard breathing. Many hounds are killed in this kind of sport, 21 and the huntsmen themselves run risks, whenever in the course of the pursuit they are forced to approach a boar with their spears in their hands, when he is tired or standing in water or has posted himself by a steep declivity or is unwilling to come out of a thicket; for neither net nor anything else stops him from rushing at anyone coming near him. Nevertheless approach they must in these circumstances, and show the pluck that led them to take up this hobby. They must use the spear and the forward 22

¹ γε Pierleoni δε S with the MSS

² ἐφίσταται A ἀφίσταται S with BM

σώματος ὡς εἴρηται· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πάσχοι, οὐκ ἂν διὰ γε τὸ μὴ¹ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν πάσχοι.

Ἰστανται δὲ αἱ ποδοστράβαι αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ταῖς² ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, καὶ ἐπισκέψεις αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ μεταδρομαὶ καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι καὶ αἱ χρεῖαι τοῦ προβολίου.

23 Τὰ δὲ νεογενῇ αὐτῶν ὅταν ἀλίσκηται, χαλεπῶς τοῦτο πάσχει· οὔτε γὰρ μονοῦται, ἕως ἂν μικρὰ ᾖ, ὅταν τε αἱ κύνες εὐρωσιν ἢ προῖδῃ τι, ταχὺ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀφανίζεται· ἐπονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὦν ἂν ὥσιν ἄμφω, χαλεποὶ ὄντες τότε καὶ μᾶλλον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

ΧΙ. Λέοντες δέ, παρδάλεις, λύγκες, πάνθηρες, ἄρκτοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία ἀλίσκεται ἐν ξέναις χώραις περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ τὸν Κιττὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πίνδῳ, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν, ὅσα οἷά τ' ἐστὶ τρέφειν
2 τοιαῦτα. ἀλίσκεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι φαρμάκῳ διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀκονιτικῶ. παραβάλλουσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ θηρώμενοι συμμυγνύντες εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ὅτῳ ἂν ἕκαστον χαίρῃ, περὶ τὰ ὕδατα
3 καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο προσίῃ. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καταβαίνοντα εἰς τὸ πεδίου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὀπλων ἀλίσκεται, εἰς
4 κίνδυνον καθιστάντα τοὺς αἰρούντας. ἔστι δὲ οἷς αὐτῶν καὶ ὀρύγματα ποιοῦσι περιφερῇ, μεγάλα, βαθέα, ἐν μέσῳ λείποντες κίονα τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον εἰς νύκτα ἐπέθεσαν δῆσαντες αἶγα καὶ ἔφραξαν κύκλῳ τὸ ὄρυγμα ὕλη, ὥστε μὴ προορᾶν,

¹ μὴ omitted by S.

position of the body is explained, then, if a man does come to grief, it will not be through doing things the wrong way

Caltrops are also set for them as for the deer and in the same places. The routine of inspection and pursuit, the methods of approach and the use of the spear are the same

The young pigs are not to be caught without 23 difficulty. For they are not left alone so long as they are little, and when the hounds find them or they see something coming, they quickly vanish into the wood, and they are generally accompanied by both parents, who are fierce at such times and more ready to fight for their young than for themselves

XI Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears and all similar wild beasts are captured in foreign countries, about Mt Pangaeus and Cithus beyond Macedonia, on Mysian Olympus and Pindus, on Nysa beyond Syria, and in other mountain ranges capable of supporting such animals. On the 2 mountains they are sometimes poisoned, owing to the difficulty of the ground, with aconite. Hunters put it down mixed with the animals' favourite food round pools and in other places that they frequent. Sometimes, while they are going down to the plain 3 at night, they are cut off by parties of armed and mounted men. This is a dangerous method of capturing them. Sometimes the hunters dig large, 4 deep holes, leaving a pillar of earth in the middle. They tie up a goat and put it on the pillar in the evening, and pile wood round the pillar with 5 leaving an entrance, so that the animals can see

εἴσοδον οὐ λείποντες. τὰ δὲ ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κύκλω τὸν φραγμὸν περιθέουσι καὶ ἐπειδὰν μὴ εὐρίσκη δίοδον, ὑπερπηδᾷ καὶ ἀλίσκεται.

- XII. Περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις εἴρηται. ὠφελήσονται δ' οἱ ἐπιθυμήσαντες τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πολλά· ὑγίειάν τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζει καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον, γηράσκειν δὲ ἥττον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
- 2 τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει. πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὄπλα ὅταν ἔχοντες πορεύωνται ὁδοὺς χαλεπὰς, οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν· ἀνέξονται γὰρ τοὺς πόνους διὰ τὸ εἰθίσθαι μετὰ τούτων αἰρεῖν τὰ θηρία. ἔπειτα εὐνάζεσθαι τε σκληρῶς δυνατοὶ ἔσονται καὶ
- 3 φύλακες εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ ἐπιταττομένου. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐπιέναι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰρεῖν τὰς ἄγρας. τεταγμένοι δ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν οὐ λείψουσι τὰς
- 4 τάξεις διὰ τὸ καρτερεῖν δύνασθαι. ἐν φυγῇ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διώξονται τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν παντὶ χωρίῳ διὰ συνήθειαν. δυστυχήσαντος δὲ οἰκείου στρατοπέδου ἐν χωρίοις ὑλώδεσι καὶ ἀποκρήμνοις ἢ ἄλλως¹ χαλεποῖς οἰοί τ' ἔσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ σώζεσθαι μὴ αἰσchrῶς καὶ ἐτέρους σώζειν· ἡ γὰρ συνήθεια τοῦ ἔργου παρέ-
- 5 ξει αὐτοῖς πλέον τι εἰδέναι. καὶ ἤδη τινὲς τῶν τοιαύτων, πολλοῦ ὄχλου συμμαχῶν τρεφθέντος, τῇ αὐτῶν εὐεξία καὶ θράσει διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀμαρτόντας τοὺς πολεμίους νενικηκότας ἀναμα-

¹ ἄλλως Stobaeus: ἄλλοις S. with the MSS.

what lies in front. On hearing the bleating in the night, the beasts run round the barrier, and finding no opening, jump over and are caught.

ΑΙΙ With the practical side of hunting I have finished. But the advantages that those who have been attracted by this pursuit will gain are many. For it makes the body healthy, improves the sight and hearing, and keeps men from growing old, and it affords the best training for war. In the first place, 2 when marching over rough roads under arms, they will not tire accustomed to carry arms for capturing wild beasts, they will bear up under their tasks. Again, they will be capable of sleeping on a hard bed and of guarding well the place assigned to them. In an attack¹ on the enemy they will be able to go 3 for him and at the same time to carry out the orders that are passed along, because they are used to do the same things on their own account when capturing the game. If their post is in the van they will not desert it, because they can endure. In the rout 4 of the enemy they will make straight for the foe without a slip over any kind of ground, through habit. If part of their own army has met with disaster in ground rendered difficult by woods and defiles or what not, they will manage to save themselves without loss of honour and to save others. For their familiarity with the business will give them knowledge that others lack. Indeed, it has happened 5 before now, when a great host of allies has been put to flight, that a little band of such men, through their fitness and confidence, has renewed the battle and routed the victorious enemy when he has

¹ The word *πρόσεδος* in this sense is a hunters term

- χόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς τὰ σώματα
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὖ ἔχουσιν ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ εὖτυ-
 6 χῆσαι. εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶι, ὅτι
 ἐντεῦθεν εὐτύχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιμέλειαν
 τῶν ἰέων ἐποιήσαντο σπαιίζοντες γὰρ καρτῶν
 τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνόμισαν ὅμως τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ
 κωλύειν διὰ μηδενὸς¹ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων
 7 ἀγρεύειν· πρὸς δε τούτῳ μὴ νυκτερεύειν ἐντὸς
 πολλῶν σταδίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀφαιροῖντο τὰς θήρας
 αὐτῶν οἱ ἔχοντες ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. ἐώρων γάρ,
 ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ἢ ἡδονὴ μόνῃ αὕτῃ πλεῖστα
 ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει σωφρονάς τε γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ
 8 δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι τὰ
 τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ² τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τούτων³
 εὐτυχοῦντες ἡσθάνοντο καὶ⁴ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι
 βούλονται ἐπιτηδεύειν καλῶν οὐδεὶς ἀποστερεῖ
 ὥσπερ ἕτεραι κακαὶ ἡδοναί, ἃς οὐ χρὴ μαιθάνειν.
 ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν στρατιῶταί τε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ
 9 στρατηγοὶ γίνονται. ὧν γὰρ οἱ ποιοὶ τὰ μὲν
 αἰσχροὶ καὶ υβριστικὰ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ
 σώματος ἀφαιροῦνται, ἐπιθυμίαν δ' ἀρετῆς ἐν-
 ηύξησαν, οὗτοι δ' ἄριστοι οὐ γὰρ ἂν περιίδοιεν
 οὔτε τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένην οὔτε τὴν
 χώραν πιασχουσιν κακῶς.
 10 Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὥς οὐ χρὴ ἐρᾶν κυνηγεσίῳ,
 ἵνα μὴ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ
 τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντες πάντες

¹ διὰ μηδενὸς A διὰ τὸ μηδὲν BM· τὸ μηδὲν S

² τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ AB τὰ τε M S omits τὰ τε . .
 ἡσθάνοντο with Schneider

³ τούτων AB τῶν τοιούτων S with M

⁴ καὶ τῶν AB τῶν τε S with M

blundered owing to difficulties in the ground. For men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success. It was 6 because they knew that they owed their successes against the enemy to such qualities that our ancestors looked after the young men. For in spite of the scarcity of corn it was their custom from the earliest times not to prevent hunters from hunting over any growing crops; and, in addition, not to permit hunting at 7 night within a radius of many furlongs from the city, so that the masters of that art might not rob the young men of their game. In fact they saw that this is the only one among the pleasures of the younger men that produces a rich crop of blessings. For it makes sober and upright men of them, because they are trained in the school of truth¹ (and they perceived 8 that to these men they owed their success in war, as in other matters); and it does not keep them from any other honourable occupation they wish to follow, like other and evil pleasures that they ought not to learn. Of such men, therefore, are good soldiers and good generals made. For they 9 whose toils root out whatever is base and froward from mind and body and make desire for virtue to flourish in their place—they are the best, since they will not brook injustice to their own city nor injury to its soil.

Some say that it is not right to love hunting, 10 because it may lead to neglect of one's domestic affairs. They are not aware that all who benefit their cities and their friends are more attentive

¹ i.e. a training that really builds up the character. There is an implied contrast with the imposture of the education given by sophists.

- 11 τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελέστεραί εἰσιν. εἰ οἱ οἱ φίλο
 κνηγῆται παρὰ τῆς ἰσοῦσιν αἰσῶν τῇ παρὰ τῆς
 χρησίμῳ εἶναι εἰς τὰ μέγιστα, οἷδ' ἂν τὰ ἴδια
 τρώμετο· οἱ γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σώζεται καὶ
 ἀλλοῖται τὰ οἰκεία ἐκείνων ὥστε πρὸς τοῖς
 αὐτῶι καὶ τὰ τῶι ἄλλῳ ἰδιωτῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι
 12 σώζουσι. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ φθόρῳ ἀλόγιστοι τῶν
 ταῦτα λεγόντων αἰροῦνται διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακίαν
 ἀλλοῖσθαι μάλλον ἢ ἑτέρων ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι· αἱ
 γὰρ ἡδοίαι αἱ πολλὰ κακαί· ὧν ἡτώμειοι ἢ
 13 λέγειν ἢ πρῆττειν ἐαίρονται τὰ χεῖρω. εἴτα ἐκ
 μέν τῶν ματαίων λόγων ἔλθρας ἀναιροῦνται, ἐκ
 δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἔργων ἰόσους καὶ ζημίας καὶ θανά-
 τους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖδων καὶ φίλων, ἀναι-
 σθήτως μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἔχοντες, τῶν δὲ ἡδοιῶν
 πλείον τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθαιόμενοι, οἷς τίς ἂν
 14 χρῆσαιτο εἰς πόλεως σωτηρίαν; τούτων μέντοι
 τῶν κακῶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἐρασθεὶς
 ὧν ἐγὼ παραιῶ· παιδεύσεις γὰρ καλὴ διδάσκει
 χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ λέγειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ
 15 ἀκούειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταρασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ
 αἰεὶ τι μοχθεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς μὲν
 μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόνους ἔχουσι, σωτηρίαν
 δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσιν· οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλοντες διὰ
 τὸ ἐπίπονον διδάσκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἀκαί-
 16 ροις διάγειν, φύσει οὗτοι κάκιστοι. οὔτε γὰρ
 νόμοις οὔτε λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς πείθονται· οὐ γὰρ
 εὐρίσκουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν, οἷον χρὴ τὸν ἀγαθὸν
 εἶναι ὥστε οὔτε θεοσεβεῖς δύνανται εἶναι οὔτε
 17 τιμῶσι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων

to their domestic affairs than other men. Therefore, if keen sportsmen fit themselves to be useful to their country in matters of vital moment, neither will they be remiss in their private affairs. for the state is necessarily concerned both in the safety and in the ruin of the individual's domestic fortunes. Consequently such men as these save the fortunes of every other individual as well as their own. But many of those who talk in this way, blinded by jealousy, choose to be ruined through their own evil rather than be saved by other men's virtue. For most pleasures are evil, and by yielding to these they are encouraged either to say or to do what is wrong. Then by their frivolous words they make enemies, and by their evil deeds bring diseases and losses and death on themselves, their children and their friends, being without perception of the evils, but more perceptive than others of the pleasures. Who would employ these to save a state? From these evils, however, everyone who loves that which I recommend will hold aloof, since a good education teaches a man to observe laws, to talk of righteousness and hear of it. Those, then, who have given themselves up to continual toil and learning hold for their own portion laborious lessons and exercises, but they hold safety for their cities. But if any decline to receive instruction because of the labour and prefer to live among untimely pleasures, they are by nature utterly evil. For they obey neither laws nor good words, for because they toil not, they do not discover what a good man ought to be, so that they cannot be pious or wise men, and being without education they constantly find fault with the educated. In

οἱ δὲν ἂν καλῶν ἔχοι· διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀμειόνων
 ἁ-ασαι αἱ ὠφέλειαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἴρηγται·
 18 ἀμειονοῦσι οἱ θέλοντες ποιεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐ-
 δίδεικται μεγάλῳ παραδείγματι· τῷ γὰρ παλαιο-
 τέρων οἱ παρὶ Λαίρῳ, ἂν ἐμεμίσθην, εἰσι ἔντες
 ἀρχαῖμοι ἀπὸ τῶν κινήσεσιν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
 ἔμαθον· ἐξ ὧν ἐγίνετο αὐτοῖς μεγάλη ἀρετή, δι'
 ἣ καὶ ἰὺν θαυμάζονται ἥς ὅτι μὲν ἐρῶσι πάντες,
 εὐδην, ὅτι δὲ διὰ τοῖων ἔστι τι χεῖν αὐτῆς, οἱ
 10 πολλοὶ ἀφίστανται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατεργάσασθαι
 αὐτὴν ἀδύνατον, οἱ δὲ τύποι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν
 φαιεροί.

Ἰσως μὲν οὖν εἰ ἦν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς δῆλον,
 ἦττον ἂν ἡμέλουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀρετῆς εἰδότες
 ὅτι ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνη ἐμφανὴς ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ
 20 αὐτοὶ ὑπ' ἐλείνης ὁρῶνται, ὅταν μὲν γάρ τις ὁρᾷται
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου, ἁ-ας ἑαυτοῦ ἔστι βελτίων καὶ
 οὔτε λέγει οὔτε ποιεῖ αἰσχρὰ οὐδὲ κακά, ἢ α μὴ
 21 ὑφθῇ ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ οἴομαι
 ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι πολλὰ κακά καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐναντίον
 ποιούσιν, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐκείνοι οὐχ ὁρῶσιν· ἡ δὲ
 πανταχοῦ παρέσθι διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀθάνατος καὶ
 τιμᾷ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς
 22 ἀτιμάζει· εἰ οὖν εἶδεῖεν τοῦτο, ὅτι θεᾷται αὐτούς,
 ἔειτο ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόσιους καὶ τὰς παιδεύσεις, αἷς
 ἀλίσκεται μόλις, καὶ κατεργάζοντο ἂν αὐτήν.

XIII Θαυμάζω¹ δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν καλουμένων

¹ S regards the whole of this chapter as a spurious addition

¹ The argument, such as it is, would be better with "the toilers," for "the better sort," and the next words would

these men's hands, therefore, nothing can prosper. All discoveries that have benefited mankind are due to the better sort.¹ Now the better sort are those who are willing to toil. And this has been proved by a great example. For among the ancients the 18 companions of Cheiron to whom I referred learnt many noble lessons in their youth, beginning with hunting, from these lessons there sprang in them great virtue, for which they are admired even to-day. That all desire Virtue is obvious, but because they must toil if they are to gain her, the many fall away. For the achievement of her is hidden in 19 obscurity, whereas the toils inseparable from her² are manifest.

It may be that, if her body were visible, men would be less careless of virtue, knowing that she sees them as clearly as they see her. For 20 when he is seen by his beloved every man rises above himself and shrinks from what is ugly and evil in word or deed, for fear of being seen by him. But in the presence of Virtue men do many evil and 21 ugly things, supposing that they are not regarded by her because they do not see her. Yet she is present everywhere because she is immortal, and she honours those who are good to her, but casts off the bad. Therefore, if men knew that she is watching 22 them, they would be impatient to undergo the toils and the discipline by which she is hardly to be captured, and would achieve her.

XIII I am surprised at the sophists, as they

then be "those who are willing to toil, therefore, are the better men"

¹ αὐτῶν, 'it,' i.e. the achievement, would be an improvement.

καὶ εὐσεβεῖς τοὺς νέους τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἃ ἐγὼ
 παραινῶ, οἰομένους ὑπὸ θεῶν του ὀρᾶσθαι ταῦτα.
 οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ τοκεῦσιν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ
 ἑαυτῶν πόλει καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ
 18 φίλων. οὐ μόνον δὲ ὅσοι ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίῳ
 ἠράσθησαν ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες,
 αἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα,¹ Ἀταλάντη καὶ Πρόκρις
 καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη,

¹ Ἄρτεμις, which follows ταῦτα in the MSS., was removed
 by Weiske.

to the gods and pious men, conscious that one or other of the gods is watching their deeds. These will be good to parents, good to the whole city, to every one of their friends and fellow-citizens. For all men who have loved hunting have been 18 good: and not men only, but those women also to whom the goddess¹ has given this blessing, Atalanta and Procris and others like them.

¹ *Artemis*.

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